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19 JULY 1989



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# ***JPRS Report***

## **Near East & South Asia**

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# Near East & South Asia

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## NKAO Officials Criticize Special Committee's Work

### Appeal to ArSSR Leadership, People

460500286 Montreal HORIZON in Armenian  
15 May 89 p 1

["Appeal" to the Central Committee of the Armenian Communist Party, the Supreme Soviet of the Armenian SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic], the Council of Ministers of the Armenian SSR and the Armenian people]

[Text] Dear comrades:

The anguish and fear of the Armenian population of Nagorno Karabakh once again make it necessary to appeal to the party and state leadership of the Armenian SSR and the people of Armenia.

The latest developments convince us that there is an attempt under way to push the Nagorno Karabakh problem into an impasse using just and unjust means. The hopes we placed on the work of the special administrative committee for NKAO [Nagorno Karabakh Autonomous Oblast] have unfortunately not been fulfilled. The committee's duplicitous game was doomed to failure from the beginning. The government of Azerbaijan bluntly and blatantly interferes in the affairs of Nagorno Karabakh, shamelessly undertaking engaging in one illegal activity after another and disregarding the protests of city and regional party and Soviet bodies. Seemingly, all this is done with the silent consent of the the special administrative committee.

First the NKAO's political problem was tied to socioeconomic reforms in the oblast. Now it is becoming clear that socioeconomic reforms mean the socioeconomic renovation of only the Azeri villages in the oblast and the intensive Azerification of the oblast.

In the situation that has been created we are unfortunately deprived of Mother Armenia's moral and material assistance. Is Armenia's assistance to Nagorno Karabakh limited to special concerts and the opening of independent cooperatives? Even as decisions taken by all union organizations with regard to NKAO place specific responsibilities on the Armenian SSR, Azeri settlements are taking root around Stepanakert at an unbelievable pace, and the road network among them is being developed. It is not so hard to see the far-reaching motives behind all these moves. And once again, as in countless instances in the past, tiny Artsakh is left all alone in its battle against Azerbaijan. We are convinced that the people of Armenia are unaware of the true state of affairs in NKAO because of the policies of the leadership of the Republic. Otherwise, we would hardly remain alone without assistance or protection. We are aware of the difficult problems that the Armenian leadership and people confront in the aftermath of the devastating earthquake. Even so, we appeal to you on behalf of the people of Nagorno Karabakh and urgently request from

you to employ the sovereign rights of a union republic to stop the illegal activities of Azerbaijan against NKAO and to undertake the most vital measures needed for the just resolution of the Artsakh problem.

Our people's fate has been placed on a deck of playing cards. Tomorrow may be too late. Nakhijevan is an evocative example of that. Let every representative of the Armenian nation make his choice at this critical and decisive hour.

[Signed] H. Gabrielyan, First Secretary of the Martakert Raykom, People's Deputy of the Soviet Union;

V. Grigoryan, Secretary of the Martuni Raykom, People's Deputy of the Soviet Union;

B. Tatamyan, Principal Director of the PATO Agroprom in Stepanakert, head of NKAO's transportation department;

Henrik. Poghosyan, People's Deputy of the Soviet Union [former first secretary of NKAO communist party];

S. Papayan, member of special administrative committee for NKAO;

L. Tovmasyan, member of special administrative committee for NKAO;

V. Adajanyan, First Secretary of the Stepanakert City Committee;

V. Kocharyan, First Secretary of Askeran Raykom;

G. Baghyan, First Secretary the Hadrut Raykom;

M. Mirzoyan, Chairman of the Stepanakert Executive Committee;

V. Zavatyanyan, Chairman of the Martakert Rayon Soviet;

S. Seyranyan, Chairman of the Martuni Rayon Soviet;

E. Navasardyan, Chairman of the Hadrut Rayon Soviet;

A. Akhapapyan, Acting Chairman of the Askeran Rayon Soviet.

[HORIZON editor's note] An appeal signed by the Artsakh leaders enumerated above has also been sent to USSR President Mikhail Gorbachev.

**Gorbachev Urged to Act**

46050028b Montreal HORIZON in Armenian  
15 May 89 p 1

["Open letter" to Mikhail Gorbachev, CPSU [Communist Party of the Soviet Union] Central Committee General Secretary and Chairman of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet]

[Text] Dear Mikhail Sergeyevich:

In connection with the reemergence of tension in Nagorno Karabakh we feel obliged to appeal to you again hoping that you will understand and help us.

You have noted on numerous occasions in your statements that the former leadership of Azerbaijan pursued for decades a discriminatory policy which trampled on the national dignity of the Armenian population of NKAO and that this policy is reflected in the decisions of the Azerbaijani Communist Party and government. Recent developments should have seemingly guaranteed that such policies with regard to NKAO have come to an end once and for all. The population of NKAO accepted in principle the whole idea of the compromise measure of removing the administration of the autonomous oblast from Azerbaijani control and instituting a special form of administration in the oblast. Unfortunately, we are obliged to show that the hopes of the Armenian population of NKAO have not been fulfilled. The NKAO remains a bone of contention as in the past. Even the introduction of a special form of administration in the oblast did not stop Azerbaijan from blunt and dishonest interference. Moreover, an impression has been created that the special administrative committee is set to help the Azerbaijani leadership to Azerify the oblast.

In violation of the decision taken with regard to the socialist development of NKAO, self-serving allocations are being made, and work is under way to improve Azeri villages. Work is under way in those villages to build industrial and social installations, roads and homes. When we consider that similar work has not been undertaken in a single Armenian village, the trampled social and national sentiments of the Armenian population of the oblast becomes evident.

We continue to believe that the special form of administration must not supplant the structure of local party and Soviet bodies. It must stand above those bodies and must replace the [Azerbaijani] Republican administration which has abused and continues to abuse its status vis a vis NKAO.

We are deeply convinced that the tragedy that has struck the Armenian people cannot be exploited to commit the problems of NKAO to oblivion. Such an approach is not only immoral, but is also fraught with unpredictable consequences.

Ignoring your declarations that interethnic problems can and must be solved within the framework of restructuring, A. K. Vezirov, the head of the Azerbaijani Communist Party's Central Committee, has publicly declared on several occasions that the NKAO problem has been solved finally and absolutely. He claims that his declarations are based on his frequent private meetings and talks with you. The people of NKAO are offended by Vezirov's provocative declarations and the sympathetic attitude of the CPSU Central Committee toward the leadership of the Azerbaijani SSR.

The fact that a political evaluation of the Sumgait massacres has not yet been released is also creating mistrust. The country's public is uninformed about illegal demonstrations in Baku which feature anti-Soviet slogans and which are taking place in the conditions of the special situation. The detention of the members of the Karabakh Committee do not contribute to the normalization of the situation either.

Expressing the will and wishes of the overwhelming majority of the population of NKAO, we insist on the indispensability of genuinely removing NKAO's administration from Azeri control without delay. The unification of NKAO with Armenia would be and remains a more correct and just decision.

Dear Mikhail Sergeyevich:

We consider it our duty to be extremely candid with you. The dynamics of the course of developments in NKAO convinces us that they have the potential to become chronic complications and threaten to bring about fresh interethnic conflicts. It is imperative not to permit that at all costs. In the conditions that have been created we believe that it is essential to have a meeting between you and the representatives of NKAO to seek ways out of this critical situation.

**Activist Released, Optimistic on Others**

**Unofficial Group Issues Weekly**

46050027b Montreal HORIZON in Armenian  
8 May 89 pp 1, 5

[Excerpt] [Passage omitted]

**Detainee Freed**

According to some sources, the [Soviet] authorities do not plan to try the arrested members of the Karabakh Committee, and they will be released at an opportune time.

The Defense Committee for the Fourteen in Soviet Armenia has also demanded the release of all detained activists without delay and without trial.

Other circles in Soviet Armenia insist that a trial must be held and that it must be an open trial so that the entire world will learn that the defendants are innocent.

We have learned that Aleksander Akobyan, one of the arrested members of the Karabakh Committee, has been freed on bond until his trial. He is now in Yerevan where he has disclosed that he was treated much better in the Moscow prison than in the Sovetashen prison in Yerevan.

Meanwhile, Yerjanik Abgaryan and Sembat Akobyan have been ordered to appear in court on charges of organizing the demonstration in front of Matenadaran [National Library in Yerevan] on 24 April.

#### Armenian Pannational Movement

Since 10 April 1989, the Armenian Pannational Movement has begun publishing a weekly called KHOSNAK [Messenger]. We reproduce the following information from the first issue of the said publication:

"The group that founded the Armenian Pannational Movement [APM] held a meeting on 8 April 1989 which was attended by 95 delegates from Yerevan and other regions of the Republic. The delegates represented industrial enterprises, research institutions and unofficial organizations, associations and groups.

"The speakers, who talked in an atmosphere of free and unrestrained exchange of ideas, friendly persuasion and ideological unity, strongly demanded to gather in the APM all the vigorous and active forces of the Armenian nation.

"A program was endorsed whereby the founding group will ask the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Armenian Soviet Socialist Republic to invite the convening of a founding congress for the APM.

"The following committees were formed to make preparations for the founding congress: a) Committee for the preparation of documents for the congress; b) Committee for the organization of the congress; and c) Committee for the preparation of the movement's bylaws.

"A founding group committee was formed to run day-to-day affairs until the congress. The members of this committee are: Y. Abgaryan, A. Bakhdasaryan, A. Ishkhanyan, S. Akobyan, D. Shahtazaryan and A. Sadoyan.

"In view of the delegates' concern about the absence of essential information, it was decided to found a weekly of the founding group of the APM."

The APM's program was made public on 18 August 1988 with the sponsorship of the Karabakh Committee. The APM has gathered around it people who generally emphasize economic and political restructuring as the

key to resolving all problems in Soviet Armenia. Other circles have been trying to form other fronts to prevent the APM from gaining the initiative.

#### Released Activist Interviewed

46050027b Paris HARATCH in Armenian  
6 May 89 p 1

[Text] As is known, one of the arrested members of the Karabakh Committee, Aleksander Akobyan, was freed 2 days ago (see HARATCH 28 April) and returned to Yerevan where he will remain under surveillance until his trial. Akobyan is a doctoral candidate in history and a researcher in the oriental studies institute of the Armenian Academy of Sciences.

On 5 May, LIBERATION published an interview with Akobyan where he expresses his views on the future of Karabakh and the conditions and causes of his release. He said in this regard:

"I was released on 25 April from the Madros prison in Moscow. Now I am free, but under surveillance in Armenia. I had to sign a paper to gain my release. The paper states that I am the father of four children, that I cannot leave Yerevan, that I must not commit any unlawful acts and that I am one of the least 'guilty' members of the Karabakh Committee."

Commenting on prison conditions, Akobyan said that the prison he stayed in is one of the best-reputed prisons in the Soviet Union (that is the food and clothing are generally good) even for the approximately 100 prisoners kept in solitary confinement. When asked how his release can be explained, Akobyan says:

"Several answers can be surmised. I was released on the eve of 24 April and just before a full meeting on the nationalities issues. This is an important event. Perhaps they wanted to show to the Armenian people that our arrests were fair and essential to determine who is more or less guilty."

And will the others be released soon?

"Certainly, but not all of them. Only those who have been the least active elements of the Committee. The examination of the case may end on 9 May. Our trial then will probably take place just before summer. But nothing is definite. Surprises may occur at the last moment. I am charged on the basis of two articles (206-3 and 206-4). They have charged me with participating in forbidden public demonstrations, disrupting public order and disabling means of public transportation. Of course I do not agree with those charges. I would like the trial to scrutinize the role of the authorities during that period. The strike was an expression that the people chose in each workplace. It was the situation, not the Committee, that instigated them to do it. The Karabakh

Committee directed the strikes. As for the issue of transportation, nobody tried to stop those who wanted to work. Therefore, we always complied with the law."

Is he a nationalist?

"Our movement is a national democratic movement. It is the authorities who portrayed us as nationalists in order to alienate the society from us and to make people believe that we were promoting interethnic conflicts which could lead to war. But the authorities were able to disseminate their anti-Azerbaijani poison slowly."

Akopyan then speaks about the future of the movement:

"We were arrested immediately after the earthquake. Having been devastated emotionally by this economic and human disaster, the people stopped its demands at that time. But in time it came out of its numbness. It is now about to realize that this state of martial law cannot last too long. Our demand over Karabakh is fair. It must be resolved by democratic means—that is in the same way that we tried to do in the past, through lawfulness. But new ways must be invented, considering the legacy of the forces that make up the movement. I cannot predict a transformation. I know, however, that the authorities will try again to weaken our movement by pushing it into an interethnic conflict. But I see from my surroundings that they will not succeed."

These first statements by Akopyan contain both favorable and unfavorable elements. Though he remains optimistic about Karabakh, he is more realistic, if not pessimistic, about the other members of the Karabakh Committee. Apparently, collective responsibility is not taken into consideration, and there are less or more "guilty" defendants. This is also confirmed by the false report—though by "reliable" sources—about the release of another member. The joy of Wednesday turned into a deep disappointment on Thursday.

### **Communist Party Urged to Follow Georgian Example**

46050027a Paris GAMK in Armenian 28 Apr 89 p 1

[Editorial originally published in Athens DROSHAK, press organ of the Armenian Revolutionary Federation: "The Georgian Example"]

[Excerpts] The Georgians set an eloquent example. What is now needed is to take the necessary lesson from their exemplary national and political behavior.

The Communist Party of Soviet Georgia was not only capable of admitting the mistake its leadership committed and making radical changes in its leadership, but it also succeeded to officially expose the shameful agony inflicted on unarmed Georgians in broad daylight. [passage omitted]

In particular, the Communist Party of Soviet Armenia, which controls the only state of the Armenian people and whose leadership has since December 1988 opted to turn its back on the will of the people and to tread the unjustifiable path of being more Catholic than the Pope, has every reason to learn the necessary lessons from the Georgian example.

The Armenian Communist Party could have done much more than what the Georgian Communist Party was able to do, because the Soviet Armenian people never resorted to the extremism of their Georgian neighbors during their demonstrations and because the S. Arutyunyan leadership had secured the vital asset of having the confidence of our people as a result of its actions in its first 6 months in office.

It is true that poison gas was not used in Soviet Armenia against the children of our nation. But it is also true that while repression by the Red Army silenced the Artsakh movement in Armenia, the popular will to reform the Armenian government was bridled by the well-known scandalous elections of 26 March.

Yes, the hour of decision has come for the Soviet Armenian people. The Armenian Communist Party either returns the S. Arutyunyan leadership back to the encouraging national and political course set by the 13 September 1988 plenum or terminates its shameful recidivism and retreat by entrusting the responsibility for its fate to a new leadership which will listen to the true voice of the people.

In reality, the Soviet Armenian authorities do not need the Georgian example to make a decision over the dilemma before them. They only need to recall that on 24 April 1989 the entire capital city of Yerevan—more than 1 million people—embarked on a peaceful demonstration and marched to Tsitsernakaberd mixing their grief over the memory of our countless martyrs of the Great Genocide with their demand for the freedom of the members of the Karabakh Committee and the political act of demanding from our historic enemy, the Turkish government, the return of our occupied lands.

For more than a year now, the Soviet Armenian people have been taking advantage of every favorable and unfavorable occasion to make their voice more penetrating and to bring to life a leadership which will genuinely implement their will.

From this standpoint, the Georgian example conveys an additional lesson to the Armenian Communist Party, by underscoring the fact that a genuine leadership cannot and is not entitled to turn its back on its calling even at times of violent outbursts from the people.

The Armenian Communist Party has no right to nurture any ambitions other than its calling to truly represent our people in Soviet Armenia.



The Georgians have set an eloquent example.

**Editor Assesses Situation in ArSSR**  
*46050027c Montreal HORIZON in Armenian*  
*1 May 89 p 7*

[Interview with Alvard Petrosyan, deputy editor-in-chief of SOVETAKAN GRAKANUTYUN, by correspondent V. B. in Yerevan on 30 March 1989]

[Excerpts] Alvard Petrosyan was born on 4 October 1946 in Yerevan. Petrosyan graduated from the Department of Armenian Language and Literature of Yerevan State University in 1968 and has served in various editorial positions. Petrosyan was recently appointed deputy editor-in-chief of SOVETAKAN GRAKANUTYUN [Soviet Literature].

[Question] What is your assessment of the situation of Soviet Armenia and its people today?

[Answer] In a word, grave. But there are many subtle colors in that grave situation. There is disillusion, there is intransigence, and there are plans. These are not just words. There is disillusion because the [earthquake] disaster was infinitely enormous. There is intransigence because we do not exhibit all the signs of disillusion, because the people are not in a state of passivity, and because everything is in flux. There are plans because the bustle of the recent elections for the Congress of People's Deputies, in which the people participated by proposing their candidates, makes one think that the people have plans for that government body and that the people want to have their representatives. [passage omitted]

[Question] What hopes and thoughts do you have regarding the improvement of the current political situation in Soviet Armenia?

[Answer] Firstly, with regard to the Artsakh problem, I believe that the more actively our government participates in the strengthening of socioeconomic and spiritual ties with Artsakh, the faster it will emerge from the critical situation which was created by this dreadful movement in 1988, the awful disaster and this instability because the people have begun to think loudly. For 70 years, the government and the people were not accustomed to think loudly. Now there are democratic movements everywhere, and we have begun to think loudly. The government is not used to seeing us think loudly, and that aberration led both us and them astray. Therefore, there must be foundation on the basis of which both they and the people can stabilize the situation. That foundation is chiefly a viable settlement of the Artsakh problem—we are not demanding anything impossible. If they can implement the 12 January decision in accordance with the letter of the law, the people may be reassured. The people are prudent by nature. The second important point is the correct rectification of the consequences of the earthquake disaster. [passage omitted]

[Question] In your opinion, what are the relations between various public organizations and groups in Soviet Armenia?

[Answer] You appear to be a little too serious about those organizations and groups. Because, in my opinion, such organizations and groups do not seriously exist. But such organizations have attracted people whom I deeply respect because I do not care about their political style. In truth, there are also political adventurers who make a lot of noise and with whom I cannot agree because, in my opinion, now is the time to do work without noise. Half of the country, the Republic, is devastated. Artsakh awaits us; we cannot abandon it. It is as much part of our homeland as Spitak, Kirovakan and Stepanavan are. I agree that, for example, Armenia cannot actively help in construction in Artsakh because there are too many ruins in Leninakan. But I find it incomprehensible to set aside Artsakh's problems and deal only with Leninakan. That piece of our homeland and that segment of our nation have suffered from a disaster of equal magnitude for 70 years. Therefore, if these groups really exist, they must, in my opinion, unite some day. I understand your wish, but they are perhaps not true.

[Question] What do you think about the party and government authorities in Soviet Armenia? Has the new leadership lived up to the hopes placed on it? If not do you think it is likely that it will in the future?

[Answer] You know, we have learned not to express any opinion about what they are doing for so many years that I am hesitant to express any opinion. I would like to wait and see. Although there has been much talk, I cannot put myself on a course of extreme opposition. Because I think that if this leadership is bad—perhaps it did not have time to prove that it is bad or that it is good. It is faced with disaster, which is not a normal situation. Therefore, no matter how unacceptable this may seem to some very brash extremist people, I have neither a favorable nor an unfavorable opinion. I am in a state of waiting, and I have decided to continue doing that. I will not express any opinions until I see the good and the bad on my own. [passage omitted]

[Question] How did the elections for the Congress of the People's Deputies proceed in Soviet Armenia and Karabakh?

[Answer] They went very well in Karabakh, but they were indecisive in Armenia. I did not take part in those elections, and I can tell you why: Because nobody wanted me to run as an individual in those elections. I do not mean individual in the sense of Alvard Petrosyan's idiosyncracies, but as an ordinary citizen. They brought me a piece of paper, like they would 10 or 20 years ago, and asked me if I would "carry it." I said "I will not." Because I still reserve that right to say "no" to myself. Apparently there were really good, fair-minded and deserving candidates running, but I do not see any change in the process and mentality of the elections. That is why I did not run. [passage omitted]

## REGIONAL AFFAIRS

### Officials View Increased Egyptian-Moroccan Relations

45040333B London AL-HAWADITH  
in Arabic 5 May 89 pp 44-45

[Article by Mahmud Salim]

[Text] Cairo—The Moroccan capital, Rabat, recently witnessed an economic event of great importance involving the prime ministers of Egypt and Morocco, 10 Egyptian ministers and their Moroccan counterparts, and a large number of officials from both countries.

The occasion was the convocation of meetings of the Joint Egyptian-Moroccan Supreme Committee. In Rabat, AL-HAWADITH received the impression that a rare economic opportunity exists which can be exploited to attain the great Arab dream: the realization of comprehensive Arab unity based on the economic unity currently at hand!

Before HAWADITH takes you to Rabat, it should be mentioned that, according to several analyses, such a committee is unjustified following the formation of the Arab Cooperation Council and the Federation of Arab Maghreb States in which Egypt and Morocco respectively participate. These analysis have proven their absolute unsoundness and invalidity!

AL-HAWADITH explored the true dimensions of this rare economic opportunity in Morocco, where it interviewed numerous Egyptian and Moroccan ministers and specialists in economic affairs.

From the first minutes of his arrival in Rabat and his meeting with Moroccan Prime Minister Dr 'Izz-al-Din al-'Iraqi, Egyptian Prime Minister Dr 'Atif Sidqi emphasized that a high degree of Arab cooperation could be achieved, especially since all parties firmly desire such cooperation. Sidqi stated that he anticipated cooperation between the member-states of the recently formed Arab councils, and between the councils themselves, adding that such cooperation provides a practical formula for achieving the Arab integration for which we are aspiring.

Al-'Iraqi expressed the same sentiment, emphasizing the importance of complete Arab integration and stating: Our goal is to restore relations between Egypt and Morocco to the high level at which they must be. Al-'Iraqi touched on the dimensions of these relations, calling them sparse and unrepresentative of the significance of the two parties. Nonetheless, he stated, they would be developed comprehensively in the near future.

The statements made by Sidqi and al-'Iraqi reflect a common perception of the need to hold bilateral meetings in the framework of the joint committee, which was crowned by the establishment of the Rabat-based Egyptian-Moroccan Development and Investment Company

with a capital of \$50 million. This company will implement joint projects which will give a strong push to economic relations and development efforts in the two countries. Also, an agreement was signed to prevent double taxation between the two countries. This agreement will play an important role in increasing the volume of joint investments and facilitating the operations and activity of the holding company.

Agreement was also reached on lists of commodities exchanged between the two countries, the percentages of customs exemptions for exports and imports of both countries, and other agreements to be studied in detail by pertinent experts.

The correct beginning to any economic rapprochement lies in the strengthening of commercial relations. There were a number of problems pertaining to equivalent deals between Morocco and Egypt. Therefore, a number of important meetings were held between the two parties, which were attended by Egyptian Finance Minister Muhammad al-Razzaz, Egyptian Customs Agency Chief Fathi Salamah, the president of the Egyptian al-Nasr Export-Import Company, Kamal Hilal, and the minister plenipotentiary in the commercial representation of Egypt's Ministry of Economy, 'Abd-al Mun'im al-'Arqusi. As a result of these meetings, agreement was reached on eliminating all impediments. The volume of a new deal was set at \$52 million, to be split between the two countries. Regarding the detailed agreement on customs relations between the two countries, Salamah stated that an agreement was reached which specifies a list of commodities exported from Egypt to Morocco (52 commodities), and another list for commodities exported from Morocco to Egypt (57 commodities). He added that it was agreed to exempt 20 commodities imported by Egypt from Morocco and 27 commodities exported by Egypt to Morocco. It was also agreed that there be two levels of customs exemptions granted to the commodities of the two states, one for commodities enjoying full exemption from customs and another for commodities enjoying only a 50 percent exemption. Egypt's exports to Morocco will include manufactured items, ready-made clothing, furniture, cigarettes, coal, coke, cotton thread, and synthetic fibers; Morocco's exports to Egypt will include frozen and fresh fish, fertilizers, food, copper, and lead.

Salamah also stated that these agreements do not prevent Egypt and Morocco from concluding detailed agreements on customs duties with other states. He added that the agreements will play a significant role in supporting trade between the two countries, and that Egyptian-Moroccan economic relations are expected to develop to the point where all items imported by each country from the other will be exempted from customs duties.

Regarding the method for implementing the equivalent deal and using the agreed customs privileges, Kamal Hilal, president of the al-Nasr Export-Import Company, stated that the equivalent deal will not be limited to the

public sector alone; rather, the private sector will have a share in it. He added that the company would never neglect the private sector, and that all privileges granted to the public sector would be enjoyed by the private sector in the scope of the deal's size. Measures pertaining to the equivalent deal will begin shortly, and the private and public sectors are both entitled to import or export through the deal.

It is undeniable that the volume of commercial exchange and joint investments between Egypt and Morocco has not exceeded several million dollars. The problem lies not in the previous volume, but in the continuation of this situation. Hence, all were agreed on the need to change this situation. Thus, Sidqi emphasized—in his meeting with Moroccan Commerce and Industry Minister 'Abdallah Azmani and several Moroccan businessmen—the urgency of the need to stimulate commercial exchange and economic cooperation. On this basis, Sidqi stated, the agreement preventing double taxation signed between the two countries will have a significant effect in stimulating joint investments.

Sidqi reviewed the investment climate in Egypt, stating that the government intends to issue a new investments law. The new law, which will unify all previous laws, will be presented to the People's Assembly in the near future. The most important provision of this law is the elimination of all procedural obstacles which arose during the practical application of the current law. He stated that the provisions of the new law will be clear and based on facilitating measures capable of bringing in a large amount of investments.

'Abdallah Azmani expressed the same sentiments, affirming that despite the low volume of commercial exchange and investment between the two countries, the agreements reached by the two states will lay better foundations for cooperation than those presently existing. Azmani touched on past frustrations over previous unsuccessful unity experiments, stating that self-confidence has been restored by what was achieved between Egypt and Morocco, between Egypt and other Arab states, and between Morocco and other states. He added that what happened is nothing but a frank facing of the Arab situation and a true translation of the interests of the Arab peoples who are looking intently at comprehensive unity.

Hasan al-Wafi, chairman of the Chambers of Commerce in Morocco, emphasized that Moroccan businessmen are very confident that the near future will witness a high degree of fruitful cooperation between Egypt and Morocco. He stated that Moroccan businessmen would be holding direct contacts with Egyptian businessmen regarding the agreements which were signed to target their implementation.

Hasan al-Zumuri, a member of the board of directors of the Moroccan "Sonasia," [SONASID—Societe National de Siderurgie] which will be responsible for implementing the equivalent deal for the Moroccan side, added:

Our earnestness about pursuing the realization of a large measure of joint cooperation is equal to the earnestness demonstrated by the Egyptian side.

Regarding the judicial cooperation agreement also signed between Egypt and Morocco, Justice Faruq Sayf al-Nasr, the Egyptian justice minister, stated that this agreement makes it possible to resort to the judiciary, facilitates judicial procedures, and provides the necessary auspices for implementing its provisions and its stipulation of the right to resort to the courts and legal assistance. The agreement also covers requests for legal assistance, the presence of witnesses and experts, the handing over of records, verdicts, and the instruments of criminal convictions.

Al-Nasr stated that the most important aspect of the agreement is that it includes provisions pertaining to the extradition of criminals who have been convicted or sentenced by judicial authorities in the two countries.

He added: Of course there will be no handing over of criminals to the custody of either of the two states, and it will not be permitted henceforth to disregard actions punishable under the two countries' laws. Naturally, extradition is not permitted in cases of political or military crimes, as is customary in all criminal judiciary agreements. In this respect, we have a number of agreements with other Arab states and several European states such as France and Hungary, and a similar agreement will be signed with Britain soon.

Justice Faruq Sayf al-Nasr stated that such agreements are beneficial in many cases. For example, the facilities granted by the judicial agreement would benefit any Egyptian or Moroccan who receives a sentence and desires to serve it in the other country, or any Egyptian or Moroccan wishing to bring legal action against another person or company in the other country.

Regarding the next step after the signing of the Egyptian-Moroccan agreements, Abd-al-Mun'im al-'Arqusi, minister plenipotentiary in the commercial representation of Egypt's Ministry of Economy, stated: Very briefly, the next step is ratification of the agreements by the People's Assembly in Egypt and the Parliament in Morocco. Then we begin implementation measures immediately. He stated that the commercial representation will overcome all obstacles which might block implementation.

He emphasized that joint cooperation is the only way to achieve the desired integration, adding that the Arab countries are taking the correct steps from the start in achieving economic integration, which will be followed by complete integration.

Egypt's ambassador in Morocco, Dr Munir Zahran, stated that the climate is now ripe for an increase in commercial exchange, economic cooperation and joint investments between Egypt and Morocco, and between all Arab states, especially after the signing of numerous

agreements. Zahran stated that the most important of such agreements are perhaps the trade agreement and the agreement on customs preferences which grants almost 120 Egyptian and Moroccan commodities customs privileges upon their entry into each other's markets. The signing of an equivalent deal totalling \$52 million, which will benefit from customs privileges, and the signing of an agreement on the establishment of a shipping line between the two countries will also help to increase the volume of commercial activity between the two countries.

The Egyptian ambassador stated that a rare opportunity exists to achieve economic integration between the Arab states, whether through bilateral cooperation or through cooperation between the Arab federations which were established recently.

After interviewing the Egyptian and Moroccan parties, one senses that both parties are earnest about achieving something which benefits their countries as well as the Arab countries.

This sense is perhaps affirmed by the following remark made by King al-Hasan II to Egyptian Prime Minister Dr 'Atif Sidqi, when the two met at the end of Sidqi's visit to Morocco: Morocco and Egypt, in continuous cooperation and consultation, are truly playing a central, main role in joint Arab efforts, and they represent two basic pillars in this framework. The king added: Through this cooperation, much can be achieved in the service of complete economic integration.

#### **Algerian Ambassador Interviewed on Egyptian Relations**

45040333a Cairo UKTUBAR in Arabic  
30 Apr 89 pp 18-19

[Interview With 'Abd-al-Hamid al-'Ajali by Maryam Rubin]

[Excerpts] [Passage omitted]

[UKTUBAR] Is Algeria contemplating the elimination of visa requirements between it and Egypt in the scope of supporting bilateral relations?

[Al-'Ajali] Such a decision will inevitably be taken at the appropriate time, not by one party alone, of course. We are striving to do everything to encourage the exchange of visits, including the elimination of visa requirements.

#### **Putting the Algerian House in Order**

[UKTUBAR] Algerian President Chadli Benjedid is entering his third term with a new program for Algerian society pertaining to many political, constitutional and economic reforms. How will the near future in Algeria be characterized regarding the achievement of democracy and party plurality; also, what is the fate of socialism in Algeria, which has become completely hidden between the lines of the new draft of the Algerian Constitution?

[Al-'Ajali] Perhaps it seems to some that what happened in Algeria last October is peculiar to Algeria alone. However, as a matter of fact, numerous states have known such events, especially Third World states. If anything, this indicates the extent of the difficulties being experienced by Third World states in different development fields. Also, such states are simultaneously facing external challenges connected to the international economic situation, and internal problems represented by the clear discrepancy between the population increase particularly characteristic of the Third World, on one hand, and the economic resources needed to fulfill the needs of that increase and to achieve its aspirations, on the other. What is unique to Algeria is that foreign powers have assailed it, especially through the media, which have spared no effort to spread propaganda damaging to Algeria because of its firm national positions. The French media are in the vanguard of these foreign forces, still dreaming of the role of legitimate heir in their continuous interventions in the internal affairs of Algeria, and still unable to digest the lessons of the past. Despite everything, we are proud of our people, while concurrently appreciating and understanding the aspirations for which it is striving in seeking the realization of a high degree of freedom, democracy, and prosperity. It suffices for me to mention here that, before these events, President Chadli Benjedid initiated economic and political changes currently being implemented. We are nearing our second referendum in the space of just a few months. This referendum aims at radical changes in the Constitution in order actually to guarantee the practice of democracy and the rights and freedoms of the Algerian citizen. We are certain that our people will obey the call and support this courageous and responsible step taken by President Chadli Benjedid.

[UKTUBAR] What is Algeria's evaluation of the effective role being played by Egypt under the leadership of President Husni Mubarak to solve the Palestinian problem and the expropriation of the legitimate rights of the Palestinian people?

[Al-'Ajali] The Palestinian people itself and its leadership are witness to the constructive role being played by Egypt under the leadership of President Husni Mubarak to support their just cause. Why are you concerned about us?

[UKTUBAR] What is Algeria's role in building the Arab Maghreb Federation established recently in Marrakech, and when will citizens in the Arab Maghreb states experience its benefits?

[Al-'Ajali] There is no doubt that we are living in an era of international blocs. The reality of the international arena which we perceive clearly confirms that there is no place for a state, small country, or small entity that exists in isolation, and that such a state or entity cannot enjoy free will. [passage omitted]

### The Arab Summit...Important Quest

[UKTUBAR] Many Arab leaders are calling for the need to convene an Arab summit conference to adopt a unified position regarding new factors in the Arab arena. What is your opinion? [passage omitted]

[UKTUBAR] All indications confirm an Arab opening, which may be an extension of an international opening in general, which is in itself an important and positive element which helps to strengthen the bonds of Arab cooperation and increase rapprochement and mutual understanding. An Arab summit is an important quest in the light of these positive elements, provided that there is good preparation for it so that it can issue effective resolutions, especially regarding the direction of support for the Arabs' crucial cause, namely the Palestinian cause and support for it. [passage omitted]

[UKTUBAR] Algeria played a prominent role in ending the Iraqi-Iranian war. It also played the same role before the era of the Shah to mend Iraqi-Iranian relations. What do you deem appropriate for bringing peace to the Gulf region in the light of the difficulties in the present negotiations?

[Al-'Ajali] Algeria—based on its belief in the strategic depth represented by Iran in relation to the Arab world, and in the need to solve problems and issues existing between the two neighbors by peaceful and political means—has not ceased making efforts to stop the war between Iraq and Iran. Algeria supports any effort to consolidate the ceasefire and solve all problems between the two countries. Algeria is playing this role bilaterally, on the level of the Security Council and its organizations in its capacity as a member in it.

[UKTUBAR] Can you shed light on the problem of the Polisario? What is Algeria's position regarding them at present, following the royal meeting which took place recently with them in Marrakech?

[Al-'Ajali] All are aware of recent developments regarding the western desert problem. They can be summarized in two points:

- The efforts being made by the UN secretary-general and the OAU chairman and secretary-general to apply the resolutions and decrees pertaining to this problem. These efforts have begun to bear fruit, and there is currently earnest hope for progress regarding this problem.
- The second pivot is the dialogue taking place between his Excellency King al-Hasan II and the Polisario Front; the importance of this dialogue is not lost on anyone.

[UKTUBAR] Have Egyptian-Algerian contacts been held to hand over Khalid Jamal 'Abd-al-Nasir, who was attending meetings of the PNC [Palestine National Council] held recently on your territory?

[UKTUBAR] Engineer Khalid Jamal 'Abd-al-Nasir is not in Algeria.

### Egypt's SLP Helps Establish Human Rights Group in Tripoli

45000168 Cairo AL-SHA'B in Arabic 20 Jun 89 pp 1, 2

[Text] Early yesterday, a Socialist Labor Party [SLP] delegation arrived from Tripoli after participating in the preparatory committee to establish an Arab human rights organization.

The delegation included Assistant Secretary General Majdi Ahmad Husayn and Executive Committee Member Dr Ahmad al-Mahdi.

The SLP delegation concentrated on the necessity of establishing an Arab human rights charter based on the Islamic concept, which includes and even exceeds all international proclamations on human rights. In fact, the preparatory committee's closing statement stipulates this view. [Sentence as published] The delegation called for striving to form a united organization for Arab human rights by inviting all other national and regional organizations—and especially the Arab Organization for Human Rights, founded by Fathi Radwan Rahmatallah—to an upcoming conference.

It was decided that the preparatory committee's second meeting will be during the first week of September.

## PALESTINIAN AFFAIRS

### PLO, Israeli Communist Party Issue Joint Proclamation

44040421 Haifa AL-ITTIHAD  
in Arabic 25 Apr 89 pp 1, 7

[Article: "Complete Text of Joint Proclamation on Talks between Israel's Communist Party Delegation and PLO's; Two Delegations Share Opinions on Israeli-Palestinian Peace, How It May Be Achieved"]

[Text] AL-ITTIHAD's office in Haifa publishes below the complete text of the joint proclamation which was issued about the talks between a delegation from Israel's Communist Party and a PLO delegation. These talks were held on the 19th of this month, April, in Prague, the capital of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic.

On 19 April 1989 a delegation from Israel's Communist party led by Me'ir Vilner, the party's secretary general, met in Prague with Yasir 'Arafat, PLO Executive Committee chairman and president of the Palestinian state. Tawfiq Ziyad, member of the Political Bureau, and 'Ali 'Ashur, member of the Central Committee, participated in the meeting.

The delegation also met with a PLO delegation which included Executive Committee members Yasir 'Abd-Rabbuh, 'Abdallah, Hurani and Mahmud Darwish, and Samih 'Abd-al-Fattah, Palestine's ambassador to Czechoslovakia.

Agreement on the following matters was reached during the talks:

Political meetings between PLO leaders and leaders of Israel's Communist Party are aimed at driving efforts for the establishment of a just and comprehensive peace in the area.

A new situation has been created by the valiant, popular intifadah [uprising] of the Palestinian people in the occupied areas and by the resolutions issued by the 19th session of the PNC [Palestine National Council] against a backdrop of positive international developments. The intifadah and the PNC resolutions have brought about far-reaching changes in public opinion and in the governments of western, eastern, and developing countries as well as in Israel. These are changes which oppose the policy of the ruling Israeli government: the policy of occupation and brutal persecution. These changes favor recognition of the PLO and recognize the right of the Palestinian people to self-determination and establish their independent state.

The delegation from Israel's Communist Party expressed solidarity with the just struggle of the Palestinian Arab people against occupation and with their right to determine their destiny and establish their independent state on the West Bank, including East Jerusalem, and the Gaza Strip. The Israeli delegation also expressed its solidarity with the intifadah as the manifestation of a legitimate struggle for national liberation.

The delegation from Israel's Communist Party evaluated the resolutions issued by the 19th session of the PNC, which recognized UN resolutions that pertain to the Palestinian cause, including Security Council Resolutions 242 and 338.

The 19th session of the PNC proved to the whole world that the PLO is sincere in its aspirations for a political solution that is based on Israel's withdrawal from all areas it has occupied since 1967. The PLO is seeking a political solution based on the principle of two states for two nations: Palestine and Israel, one beside the other.

A solution to the question of Palestinian refugees would be found in an international conference and based on pertinent UN resolutions.

The two parties are resolved that an international conference must be held as soon as possible to bring about a comprehensive, just and lasting peace. This conference is to be held under UN supervision, and all parties

involved in the conflict, including the PLO, the government of Israel, and the five permanent members of the UN Security Council are to participate in it.

The international conference should be convened, and its business is to be conducted in the spirit of the new thinking. The interests of all peoples are to be respected.

The new development on the international scene shows that by employing this spirit regional disputes can be solved peacefully; the flames of war can be extinguished; and situations which could explode and threaten world peace can be prevented.

The delegation from Israel's Communist party condemns the crimes which are being committed by the occupation forces against the Palestinian masses. The delegation condemns the daily killing of children, women and men. It condemns the injuries sustained by many people; the mass arrests; the torture in prisons and detention camps; the expulsion of people; the demolition of homes; the curfew; and the closing of schools and universities.

Both sides confirmed their rejection of all forms of terrorism, and they indicated that the Palestinian people's struggle against the occupation and their struggle for an independent state and for peace did not constitute terrorism. This is rather a legitimate struggle by people who are suffering under foreign occupation; it is a struggle for liberation and national freedom.

Both parties condemned the official policy of terrorism which is being carried out by the government of Israel in the occupied territories.

Both parties expressed the hope for a positive development on the international scene. They also expressed their full appreciation for the role which is being carried out by the Soviet Union and all socialist countries to advance the cause of peace in the Middle East and all the world. They also expressed their appreciation for the positive changes which were made in the policy of western European countries and for the important role which is being played by non-aligned countries to advance the cause of peace.

Both parties had positive things to say about the onset of the dialogue between the United States of America and the PLO. They had positive things to say about President Bush's declaration that the Israeli occupation of Arab areas must end. They also indicated that a change had to be made in the U.S. position that would make the United States accept the establishment of an independent Palestinian state.

Both parties indicated that they rejected Prime Minister Yitzhaq Shamir's so-called initiative regarding the elections which are to be held under the occupation for the purpose of establishing "self-rule." Both parties viewed that initiative as a trick whose aim is to turn attention

away from the occupation itself and from the effort to find a lasting settlement. They thought the aim of the so-called initiative was to gain time for Israel, to strike a blow against the intifadah, and to break the siege which has been set around the government of Israel to isolate it from the world. Only when there is agreement over a lasting solution and only when Israel withdraws from the occupied areas can temporary measures be taken; only then can elections be conducted under UN supervision. The Palestinian people have leaders who are recognized and authorized by the Palestinian people inside the occupied areas and outside those areas as well. Those leaders are recognized by the United Nations and by the countries of the world in the East and in the West. Those leaders are the leaders of the PLO.

The PLO delegation rejects the allegations made by the enemies of peace in Israel about the PLO's intentions. These are scare tactics carried out by those who want to block every avenue to peace. They want to put an end to the Palestinian cause and annex the occupied areas. The PLO is working for a permanent peace with international guarantees.

The PLO delegation views the changes which are taking place in society and in political circles in Israel with satisfaction. These are changes that favor recognizing the PLO and convening an international conference to establish peace in the Middle East based on the principle of two states for two nations. The PLO delegation expresses its full appreciation for the contribution made by the Israeli Communist Party and by the Democratic Front for Peace and Equality to the struggle to bring about these changes. The PLO appreciates what they are doing to make all the pro-peace forces in Israel work together.

The delegation from Israel's Communist Party had congratulated Yasir 'Arafat during its meeting with him on being elected president of the Palestinian state.

The two delegations expressed their gratitude and appreciation to the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia for the hospitality extended to both delegations and for the prominent role which Czechoslovakia has been playing to achieve peace in the Middle East and consolidate it in the world.

#### **Popular Army in Nabulus Sets Up Local 'Police Units'**

TA2806143689 Tel Aviv HADASHOT in Hebrew  
28 Jun 89 p 7

[Report by Oren Kohen]

[Text] The Palestinian Popular Army has recently set up police units in Nabulus which include patrolmen in the different neighborhoods, traffic policemen, and a military police body.

Arab sources reported that members of the traffic unit operate for a while, and then flee before the Israeli Army arrives at the scene. The unit known as the military police was set up following complaints by local residents about the behavior of masked men, who claim to belong to the Palestinian Popular Army. This unit deals with the problems that erupt between the residents and the masked activists, and with disciplinary infractions on the part of the activists.

Lately identification badges bearing the words the "Palestinian Popular Army" have been printed.

#### **Editorial Says Death for Drug Dealers Justified**

44040436a Jerusalem AL-BAYADIR AL-SIYASI  
in Arabic 20 May 89 p 21

[Editorial by Nazir Takturi al-Tamimi: "Death by Hanging for Dealers in Death by Poison"]

[Text] Drugs are a long, extensive subject. This plague is one of mankind's chronic worries. It burrows like a maggot into the bones of every addict and into the foundation of every home—indeed, into the structure of every society it enters or in which it becomes established.

Although the reasons for drug use differ now from what they were in the past, drug use goes back to ancient times. In ancient cultures, drugs were used within "religious" rituals and for medical motives; rarely were they used to escape from reality.

Frustration, weakness, and despair are among the most prominent causes of falling into the trap of drug addiction. Most of those who have such traits are weak-souled people lacking will power. They may be people suffering from difficult life circumstances, or they may be people who enjoy prosperity and wealth. The first group flee from destitution; the second group turn to addiction in order to dispel boredom and discontent by becoming adept at adapting to their dissolute reality.

There are incredible stories that come from circles of drug addicts, stories that make one's flesh creep and one's hair turn gray.

- A man cuts off his wife's arm because she refused to give him her last gold bracelet to buy drugs.
- A son kills his father for drugs.
- A young addict rapes a crippled old woman.
- A young mother is found dead in a car after an overdose of drugs.
- A rich man sells his farm, household furniture, and his wife's jewelry, and risks his business in order to spend money for drugs.

Stories—and there are many more, all of the same sort, some of them even more horrible and more cruel.

Death is too little for the merchants of "white death." If there were a sentence greater than the death penalty, drug merchants would be foremost among the criminals, murderers, and traffickers in human lives and dignity who deserve it.

In many countries of the world, the death penalty was restricted to those who commit murder. Today, however, the death penalty has been extended in some countries to include drug dealers. Death awaits anyone apprehended with more than 30 grams of heroin or 5 kg of opium in his possession. Under this law, the smuggler must be executed within 33 days following his arrest. Some are demanding that the punishment be increased to death for anyone who founds, organizes, or directs gangs that import or deal in drugs.

Drugs no longer have a single meaning. They include many chemical substances and compounds, numbering nearly 5,000 substances with the property of gaining control of the sick person and causing physical debilitation and nervous collapse. Hashish, for example—one of the oldest kinds of drugs—has a effect that is internal, with no apparent external effects. Therein lies the danger, since hashish use leads to weakening of the cerebral cortex, and this naturally diminishes the individual's intelligence. As for heroin and cocaine addicts, their condition deteriorates because of the destruction of cells in the nervous system. (There are about 13 billion of these cells.)

How does religion view drugs? His Excellency Dr Muhammad Sayyid Tantawi, the mufti of Egypt, says, "God has forbidden drugs in their various forms and different kinds as noxious substances. Ancient and modern jurists agreed on prohibiting drugs, having seen their bad effects on people, and because the effect of drugs surpasses that of wine, which is prohibited in the Holy Koran. They are consequently prohibited. The absence of a text in the Koran directly prohibiting them does not mean that they are permitted. The fact that their prohibition is not mentioned in the Koran or Sunnah can be traced to the fact that they were not known at the time of the Prophet. Drugs made their appearance only in the 6th and 7th Islamic centuries, long after the death of the Prophet, upon him be blessing and peace."

Those who have described drug addicts as people who have lost the sense of anything called honor, feeling, self-esteem, and morals, mere empty, hollow bodies with no humanity save the overall external appearance—those who have described addicts in this way have done them no injustice. We therefore notice that among the fruits of the intifadah [Palestinian uprising] in the occupied territories has been the disappearance of the so-called drug trade and the destruction of the so-called "dens of white poison" that were located here and there in a number of decaying alleys. These things were a sign of this vile time, whose tools knew how to infiltrate among those with weak souls and no will power.

## BAHRAIN

### New Court Added to Judicial System 44000555 Manama GULF DAILY NEWS in English 21 May 89 p 6

[Text] A new court which will be the highest judicial authority in Bahrain opens in September. It will give the common man a further place of appeal and will be the only court with the final say on death sentences. To the legal community, the court of Cassation will be a guiding light on the interpretation of law. Special Correspondent Indira Chand talks to Legal Affairs Minister Dr Husayn al-Baharnah, and lawyers, about the role and importance of the new court.

A new era of judicial expertise begins in Bahrain, with the creation of the Court of Cassation, which will be the highest in the land.

Its jurisdiction will be civil and criminal matters and it will review judgments of other courts, to ensure that the right laws have been applied.

Minister of State for Legal Affairs, Dr Husayn al-Baharnah, said the Court of Cassation was based on the French system, which means the court which annuls judgments of lower courts.

### Appeal

"Its role is similar to the House of Lords in Britain, which is the highest court of appeal there," said Dr al-Baharnah.

He said all death sentences issued by other courts would automatically go to the highest court for a final decision.

The sentence of death will not be executed unless it has been endorsed by the Court of Cassation.

"Such a case will automatically go to the Court of Cassation. You don't have to apply for it," said Dr al-Baharnah.

Dr al-Baharnah said the Court would ensure the proper application of the law and bring about uniformity in the interpretation of law.

"The Court of Cassation will look into contradictory judgments and that is why its role is to coordinate the law, to apply it properly and to establish conformity in the judgments of the lower courts," he said.

"That is why it assumes the role of establishing precedents which will be binding upon the lower courts, so it makes the law in that sense," he said.

"But it has no jurisdiction over Shari'ah cases," said Dr al-Baharnah.



"The Court of Cassation will look into cases concerning the personal status of non-Muslim only."

"So, matters concerning marriage, divorce, maintenance and other personal matters of non-Muslim will also be taken up by the Court of Cassation," he said.

#### Passed

He said judgments from the court would be passed by a bench of at least three judges.

Dr al-Baharnah said the court would have a total of five expert judges.

"The five judges will be of much higher calibre and experience than the judges of the High Court of Appeal," said Dr al-Baharnah.

"That is why we will rely on Egyptian judges. We don't have enough judges of high calibre and enough experience in Bahrain.

"However, most probably, the president of the Court of Cassation will be a qualified Bahraini judge," he said.

Dr al-Baharnah said one of the provisions of a judicial agreement between Bahrain and Egypt, which was signed recently, would facilitate the exchange of judges.

"The idea of the agreement is to facilitate coordination between the legal systems of the two countries. This is the general aim of the agreement.

"The basic aim is to exchange views in the implementation and execution of judgments," he said.

Dr al-Baharnah said the agreement would also allow the extradition of criminals between the two countries.

He said the creation of the Court of Cassation would be generally welcomed by the people and the legal community.

#### New Water Supplies Reported

44000554d Manama GULF DAILY NEWS  
in English 11 Jun 89 p 4

[Excerpt] Bahrain is to host a major international conference on banking and finance in February next year. The Development Awareness Committee has started preparations for the conference which will bring together more than 600 delegates from around the world.

A meeting of the committee, chaired by Information Minister Tariq al-Mu'ayyid, decided to organize the conference in association with any of the three international business magazines—Euromoney, Business International or Middle East Economic Digest (Meed).

'Abd-al-Nabi al-Shu'lah, chairman of the economic working group in the committee, said the conference would give the necessary boost to the vigour and vitality of the financial and banking sector, which was one of the importance facets of Bahrain's service industry.

"The sector has contributed to an increasing percentage in the GDP [gross domestic product] and in the development of professional expertise, and has enhanced other supportive services besides putting Bahrain on the financial and banking map of the world," said Mr al-shu'lah.

#### Interest

"This envious achievement which has naturally been affected by the conditions of the present economic period should be protected and given due attention and priority," he said.

He said that the financial and business circles in the country were showing keen interest in the proposed conference.

Mr al-Shu'lah said the committee also decided to organize a two-day seminar in October on the 'Expansion of the productive base and further diversification of income.'

The committee has been set up with representatives from the government and private sectors.

### EGYPT

#### Makramallah on Arab Aid to Egypt

JN2106173189 Cairo AL-AKHBAR in Arabic  
20 Jun 89 p 4

[By Raja' 'Abd-al-Malik]

[Text] The near future will witness great activity by Egypt and the Arab financial institutions and funds to finance some projects listed in the Egyptian development plan, especially following the restoration of ties between Egypt and the Arab states and the restoration of Egypt's membership rights in the Arab funds in April last year after a 9-year suspension.

There are eight Arab financial establishments, five of which belong to the Arab League and three of which belong to Kuwait, Abu Dhabi, and Saudi Arabia.

The funds that belong to the Arab League are the Arab Fund for Economic and Social Development, the Arab Organization for Investment Security, the Arab Monetary Fund, the Arab Organization for Agricultural Investment and Development, and the Arab Bank for Economic Development in Africa.

Egypt is a founding member of the Arab League funds, organizations, and institutions, and has never failed to regularly pay its contributions to these funds as well as the interests on the loans it obtained from them, even when its membership was suspended. Nevertheless, Egypt was adversely affected during the Arab boycott because it could not exercise its rights to loans.

What are the Egyptian projects to which these funds have been contributing since Egypt's membership rights were restored? What is Egypt's strategy toward these funds, what are the funds to whose capital Egypt is contributing, and what are the facilities that these funds are granting to Egypt?

I addressed these questions to Dr Maurice Makramallah, minister of state for international cooperation. He said:

"Since the restoration of Egypt's membership to the Arab funds, many Egyptian projects have been financed by them. I think that the most important project so far is the financing of the second phase of the Dumyat electric power station, which is being financed by the Arab Fund for Economic and Social Development. The loan agreement was signed on 1 March 1989 and the loan amounts to 35 million Kuwaiti Dinars [KD] (2.87 U.S. dollars to the Dinar).

The Arab Fund is also extending technical assistance and is financing other projects. On 14 January 1989, a letter of understanding was signed with the fund concerning the technical assistance the fund will extend to finance the feasibility study for a project to develop the Suez Canal at a cost of 350,000 KD. There is also the financing of the pulp-wood project for paper in Idfu which belongs to the Egyptian Sugar and Distillation Company. The fund also finances the study for the electric power linkage between Egypt and Jordan."

As for the Arab Monetary Fund, Makramallah said:

"On 4 September 1988, the second spontaneous loan agreement was signed between Egypt and the fund, which amounts to 4,687,500 accounting Arab dinars.

"On 27 May 1989, the third spontaneous loan agreement was signed in Abu Dhabi granting Egypt a \$20 million loan."

The minister of state for international cooperation added: "There are three state-run Arab funds that are not affiliated with the Arab League. They are the Kuwaiti Fund for Economic Development, the Abu Dhabi Fund for Economic Development, and the Saudi Fund for Economic Development."

1. The Kuwaiti Fund for Economic Development: The minister said that "the Kuwaiti fund is among the first funds that extended aid to Egypt after our relations with the Arab states improved. Two agreements were signed

with it to extend two loans amounting to 17.5 million KD to Egypt. The first is to finance a project to protect Rashid coast and the other is to promote the pharmaceutical industry in Egypt."

He said negotiations are underway with the Kuwaiti fund to finance six projects. He said studies were concluded on the Kafr al-Dawwar company's polyester project and the Hulwan iron and steel company's steel tempering project.

2. Abu Dhabi Fund for Economic Development: Dr Makramallah said that after Shaykh Zayid Ibn-Sultan al-Nuhayyan's visit to Cairo in 1988, and based on his talks with His Excellency President Husni Mubarak, the fund expressed readiness to finance a project to reclaim 155,000 acres in al-Nubariyah area. In accordance with the outcome of the initial technical and economic feasibility study supervised by the Ministry of Agriculture and Land Reclamation, the fund's contribution was estimated at \$75 million, in addition to Egypt's contribution to this project. Experts are conducting the study, which is now in its final stages and costs approximately \$80,000.

3. The Saudi Fund for Economic Development: The minister said a delegation from the Saudi fund is expected to arrive soon to discuss a list of projects, which will be cofinanced by the fund. The projects proposed by the Egyptian side vary to include industrial, food security, transportation and communications, electricity and energy, housing, construction, and services fields.

I asked Dr Maurice Makramallah: "What are the lending terms of these Arab funds? What interest rate do they demand? What merits do they have over other world funding institutions?"

He answered: "There are available financial resources in the Arab region which are better used in the Arab states which need these resources. This is in order to achieve the objective constantly sought by the Arab countries, which is to establish integration among the Arab states and develop the region with its own resources, especially since the terms and interest rates of Arab funds are less than the interest rates demanded by funding institutions in major industrial states. Arab funds demand interest rates from 3 to 3.5 percent only. Grace periods and repayment periods are similar to those proposed by the industrial states. Arab funds grant 5-year grace periods. Repayment periods extend from 10-15 years, depending on the loan."

Then he said, "There is another asset concerning the Arab funds, which is the freedom of using the loans to buy equipment and the necessary machines for projects without being tied down to a certain country, as is the case with the industrial countries which set conditions on buying the equipment from the creditor country and other such binding conditions."

I asked: "What is the Egyptian strategy of dealing with these Arab funds?"

He answered: "They must necessarily appear on the plan approved by the People's Assembly. It also has priority. This does not prevent the importance of a project not included in the plan from becoming evident as circumstances develop. Therefore, the steps normally followed to include it will be taken. Then it will be included among the batch of projects which we are briefly presenting to the fund, with all its constituents, capital, and importance. The fund will choose the projects that suit it. After that, the stage of detailed benefits for the fund starts."

I asked: "Do you believe that the projects implemented by these funds since the re-establishment of relations are reasonably sufficient?"

The minister of international cooperation answered: "I believe it is a reasonable start. However, it needs further development to enable us to get more financial resources than we have already."

After this discussion with Dr Maurice Makramallah, minister of state for international cooperation, we can give a brief rundown of the funds belonging to the Arab League. They can be summarized by the following:

**The Arab Fund for Economic and Social Development:** On 16 May 1968, the Social and Economic Council of the Arab League approved the agreement to establish this fund. The fund started its operation and loans at the beginning of 1974. Its aims are to contribute to financing economic and social development projects in the Arab countries through financing economic projects of an investment nature with easy term loans, as well as joint Arab projects. The fund has an authorized capital of 800 million KD and a subscribed capital of 694.8 million KD. The capital paid up to 31 December 1988 amounts to 644.29 million KD.

Egypt's share of the fund's capital amounts to 40.5 million KD, which were fully covered on 16 January 1989. Egypt received loans from the fund amounting to a total value of 67.9 million KD during the period from 1974 to 1988. 55.45 million KD have been spent and withdrawn fully. Egypt also received 625,000 KD in prescribed technical aid, of which 300,000 KD were withdrawn.

**The Arab Organization for Investment Security and its relations with Egypt:**

The agreement on launching the organization was signed pursuant to a recommendation made by the first Arab industrial development conference held in 1970. It began to operate in mid-1975 at its headquarters in Kuwait.

The organization seeks to encourage the movement of Arab capital among Arab states to finance their development endeavors in the interest of their peoples.

The capital of the organization totals 25 million KD.

Egypt's contribution to this capital amounts to 1.25 million KD; 650,000 dinars of which have been paid. Efforts are underway to pay the remaining amount in accordance with what has been agreed upon. It has been agreed that this remaining amount will be paid in five installments throughout the year.

The organization guarantees the investments approved by the Egyptian Government at the request of the latter.

**The Arab Monetary Fund:**

The Arab Economic and Social Council affiliated with the Arab League approved the agreement on the establishment of the fund on 8 December 1975, and the agreement was endorsed by the Arab economy and finance ministers in April 1976. The fund is headquartered in Abu Dhabi.

The fund seeks to rectify the disequilibrium in the balances of payments of the member states, to bring about a stability in the exchange rates of Arab currencies, to make these currencies usable in inter-Arab financing activities, to work to remove restrictions on current payments among Arab states, to provide advice on the foreign investment policies pertaining to the use of the member states' liquid resources, and to settle current payments among the member states.

The fund's capital totals 600 million accounting Arab dinars. Egypt's contribution to this capital amounts to 25 million dinars. This amount has been paid in full.

Egypt obtained loans totaling \$17.7 million from the Arab Monetary Fund. These loans have been repaid in full.

**The Arab Organization for Agricultural Investment and Development:**

This organization was established in 1967 and headquartered in Khartoum. The organization was established to develop the agricultural resources of the member states through investment in agricultural production projects, particularly in projects related to land reclamation, agricultural and animal products, and fisheries. The capital of this organization totals 150 million KD. Egypt's contribution to this capital amounts to 3 million KD, 1.38 million KD of which has been repaid. Work is underway to pay the remaining amount.

The board of directors' meeting of the organization will be held in Cairo in July to discuss the technical and economic studies on certain agricultural projects proposed for the Arab states, including Egypt.

The Arab Bank for Economic Development in Africa:

The bank was established in Khartoum in implementation of a resolution adopted by the sixth Arab summit conference held in November 1973. The bank began to operate in March 1975.

The main task of this bank is to offer easy term loans for specific projects in African states which are not members of the Arab League. Hence, Egypt does not receive any aid from this bank. However, Egypt's contribution to the capital of this bank totals \$2,129,847.93. Of this amount, \$1,796,514.93 has been paid. Efforts are underway to pay the remaining amount.

The bank's board of directors will hold its meetings on 17 June 1989.

#### **NDP Under Secretary General Explains Election System**

45040382 Cairo MAYU in Arabic 5 Jun 89 p 3

[Interview with Dr Ahmad Salamah, NDP under secretary general and minister of state for People's Assembly and Consultative Assembly affairs, by Husni al-Minshawi: "Why Were Members Who Ran Against Party Candidates Expelled?"; date and place not given; first three paragraphs are MAYU introduction]

[Text] Why did the general secretariat of the National Democratic Party [NDP] decide to expel members who ran against party candidates in Consultative Council elections?

Dr Ahmad Salamah, party under secretary general and minister of state for People's Assembly and Consultative Council affairs, answers this question. He asserts that a party member must abide by the decisions of the party leadership and that the interest of the party is above the interests of individuals.

Dr Salamah announced that the expulsion of nonconformists included the expulsion of the member from his party position, as well as expulsion from his position in local people's assemblies.

The party under secretary announced that Egyptian society has not digested the method of elections by party slates. He said that if the experiment of individual election to the Consultative Council succeeded, it would be applied in the coming People's Assembly elections.

[MAYU] By expelling members who ran in the Consultative Council elections against party candidates, the NDP general secretariat is for the first time taking decisive action against members who disobey party decisions and directives. Why?

[Salamah] First, I would state that the party general secretariat made the expulsion decision 10 days after warning that party members who did not abide by party

decisions would be expelled, because they had run for election despite the existence of candidates from the party leadership. As everyone knows, before nominations got under way, the party announced its candidates in all of the country's constituencies. These nominations took place by resolution. This meant that all party members not nominated by the party had a duty not to compete with their colleagues who had been nominated. It was their duty to do their best to make those candidates succeed.

I would like to make it clear that the party wanted seats to be adequate to suffice for the entire upper leadership in the party, which numbers in the thousands. This, however, was impossible, since there are only 172 seats in the Consultative Council. Some members were selected to be presented by the party. Such nomination, however, did not mean the creation of two classes—privileged and nonprivileged. It was merely a nomination procedure imposed by the shortage of seats. The person not nominated by the party this time might be nominated on a future occasion.

When nominations got under way and candidates were put forward, some party members did not understand the nature of the phase and submitted nomination papers in the same districts in which their party colleagues had been nominated. Such a candidacy would inevitably lead to splitting the NDP votes, which is not in the interest of the party.

When the deadline for withdrawal came and some people—they were a minority—did not respond, the party general secretariat was forced to issue a decision expelling them. I want to state for the record that many candidates responded to this appeal and in fact resigned from candidacy.

#### **Philosophy of the Decision**

[MAYU] Is the philosophy of this decision to deepen the sense of affiliation and strengthen party discipline and commitment?

[Salamah] These expulsion decisions were not based on partiality for one person rather than another or on favoritism for one person rather than another. Rather, any party must have party discipline. The party member must abide by decisions of the leadership. If he rebels against these decisions, then he needs to have his sense of belonging and commitment deepened. What happened was a kind of tightening of party discipline and strengthening of the sense of party affiliation—that the interest of the party, and consequently the interest of the country, is above the self-interest of individuals.

#### **Expulsion From Local [Councils]**

[MAYU] Will these members also be expelled from local people's councils?

[Salamah] The expulsion decision has two halves. First, anyone who holds a party leadership position, whether a bureau member in a governorate, markaz, precinct, or village, is subject to expulsion.

Second, anyone who holds a position in the local [councils] will also be expelled. This is because the philosophy of elections by slates, on the basis of which local elections took place, rests on a single fundamental idea: that the citizen casts his vote not for a particular individual, but for a particular party, because he adheres to the goals and programs that this party announced in order to enter the elections.

Thus, when citizens chose a person, it was not for his person or his personality; it was because he was carrying out the policy that the party announced and for which it gathered its candidates into a slate. When a person has been expelled from the party, he cannot realize the goals the party has announced. Thus, the wisdom of his being chosen by the voters becomes completely negated. The voter chose the candidate to realize a particular program on the basis of the candidate's being a member of the party. If the candidate is not a member of the party, how can he realize this program? This is like a loss of the confidence that citizens bestowed on this member for whom they voted. Since there has been a loss of confidence, the wisdom of his membership becomes negated.

[MAYU] Then anyone who loses his party character loses his position in the local councils.

[Salamah] Exactly. The local councils are governed by the philosophy of election by slate and general statutory principles. What happens in the local councils should not be judged by analogy with the People's Assembly and Consultative Council. In the case of the People's Assembly and Consultative Council, the Constitution itself has exhaustively determined the situations in which membership is lost. This is a constitutionally defined matter on which there is no room for independent judgment. As long as one of the defined situations is not present, membership cannot be revoked.

[MAYU] Those whose membership in the local councils has been revoked—how will their empty places be filled?

[Salamah] The election system in the localities is the slate system. There are reserve members on every slate. Those whose turn it is will come up according to the order on each slate.

#### Legislative Role

[MAYU] Some people are demanding that the Consultative Council take a legislative role. How would that take place? Would it require amendment of the Constitution?

[Salamah] Many people imagine that the Consultative Council has no legislative role. This is not true. Since its inception, the Consultative Council has had a limited legislative role under the Constitution. The wish to expand this limited role is something not up for discussion now, since it would require amending the Constitution.

If we limit ourselves to the current situation in the Constitution, the council certainly has a legislative role. The criterion here is reference to Article 195 of the Constitution, which mandates taking the opinion of the Consultative Council in many matters. The opinion of the Consultative Council, whether advisory or nonadvisory, is considered a necessary constitutional step in the legislative process. If this step is not fulfilled, the legislation is unconstitutional, because it lacks one of its stages.

[MAYU] In what questions does the Constitution mandate taking the opinion of the Consultative Council?

[Salamah] They are all legislative matters that are promulgated by laws. The first of these involves laws that complete the Constitution—what are called fundamental laws. Taking the opinion of the Consultative Council on draft fundamental laws is a necessary constitutional link. It is a step in the legislative process as a whole—a process that consists of a series of steps, any of which is considered part of the legislative process.

Second, the government's general plan is promulgated by a law. The constitution mandates taking the opinion of the Consultative Council on the general social and economic plan. Since the plan is promulgated through a law, the opinion of the Consultative Council must be obtained. Its opinion is considered to be a step in the legislative process.

The third matter involves treaties. There is a class of treaties that are ratified by a law; on them the opinion of the Consultative Council must be taken. When there is a law that ratifies a treaty and the opinion of the Consultative Council is not taken, the law is unconstitutional.

Finally, there are the proposed laws on which the president thinks that the opinion of the Consultative Council should be taken. The president has the right to take the opinion of the Consultative Council on proposed laws that do not complete the constitution. When the president indicates that the opinion of the Consultative Council should be taken, the council's opinion becomes part of the legislative process. The result of all this is that the Consultative Council performs a legislative role.

#### New Session

[MAYU] What proposed laws will be submitted to the Consultative Council when its new session begins?

[Salamah] We cannot decide in advance what will be submitted and what will not be submitted to the Consultative Council, because the council agenda alone determines that. The council's bureau is composed of the president and the two deputies. The plan of action is set by the council's general committee. This is a matter that no one can predict. One can, however, be certain that the council will complete the reports that have not at the present time been completed.

#### **Government Has Benefited**

[MAYU] Has the government benefited from the studies that the Consultative Council has completed in the past?

[Salamah] First, there is no doubt about the value of the studies the council has made. All classes of the people, as well as the members of the People's Assembly, have praised the efforts the council has made in its reports. This is a constant theme in the minutes of the People's Assembly and thus confirms the value of the reports.

In fact, the reports that the Consultative Council assemblies are based on Article 194 of the constitution. This charges the Consultative Council with studying and making suggestions on many matters of public and political life. When the Constitution charged the council, it did not just say "Study," lest it be just a theoretical study to be put in the drawers. It said "Study, make suggestions, and end its studies with suggestions."

The internal regulations of the Consultative Council say that these reports and the suggestions they contain should be submitted to the president of the Republic, the president of the People's Assembly, and the prime minister. If they think that these suggestions deserve to be followed and require the passage of legislation or the issuance of a particular executive decree, they have the final say on this. On many matters that the Consultative Council has suggested, immediate executive decrees and legislation have been issued on the very next day.

Power does not lie in the opinion's being obligatory. Power lies in the arguments of the opinion and in its value. This means that we have moved from compulsion to persuasion, which is the summit of political activity.

#### **All Are Constitutional**

[MAYU] Now that the Consultative Council law has been amended, so that the council is elected by an individual system, will this system also apply to the coming People's Assembly elections?

[Salamah] Elections by slate, whether absolute or proportional, or individual elections are all constitutional and democratic methods, since they do not conflict with the constitution. They are part of the essence of democracy and do not conflict with it.

The question is therefore one of practical compatibilities. A constitutional method may be successful and appropriate for a certain society, while another method may not be appropriate for the same society. Through our political activities over the past years we became convinced that elections by list would reduce many of the conflicts that were caused by individual elections. That was thought to be best, and we traveled this path. Later, we sensed that Egyptian society has not digested elections by list, despite the fact that theoretically they may be more appropriate, more in harmony, and more effective in dealing with many problems.

When this became clear in Egyptian public opinion, we reconsidered the matter as regards the Consultative Council and embraced individual elections.

We will wait to see the results of the experiment, whether it satisfies people or not. If it satisfies them, we will necessarily also espouse it in People's Assembly elections.

If the experiment succeeds and we want to generalize it to People's Assembly elections when their time comes—and there are years remaining until assembly elections—this will certainly be reflected in the change of certain sections in the present People's Assembly Law, so that they arrange for individual election.

#### **Former Prime Minister Views Palestinian State**

45040350 London AL-MAJALLAH  
in Arabic 24-30 May 89 p 11

[Interview With Dr Mustafa Khalil, former Egyptian prime minister, by Muhammad Basyuni: "In His Proposals, Shamir Has Retreated From Camp David Outcome"; date, place not given; first three paragraphs are AL-MAJALLAH introduction]

[Text] When Muhammad Ibrahim Kamil, a former Egyptian minister of foreign affairs, submitted his resignation from his post in September 1978, the reason was his disagreement with President al-Sadat on the details of the Camp David accord.

The post of foreign minister remained vacant for the first 6 months of Dr Mustafa Khalil's cabinet. Khalil formed his first cabinet in October 1978. In February 1979, President al-Sadat issued a decree appointing Dr Mustafa Khalil to the post of foreign minister, in addition to his position as prime minister. One month later, the Baghdad Arab summit issued its resolutions, suspending Egypt's Arab League membership.

AL-MAJALLAH correspondent Muhammad Basyuni has interviewed former Prime Minister Dr Mustafa Khalil on the background of the boycott and the return.

[AL-MAJALLAH] What is your comment on the resolution to reinstate Egypt?

[Khalil] The resolution to reinstate Egypt is tantamount to correcting a mistake made with no justification.

[AKHIR SA'AH] But what about the general circumstances which led to boycotting Egypt at the time?

[Khalil] I believe that Egypt is blameless because its policy was more foresighted at the time than those who adopted the boycott resolution. Egypt committed no mistake, as proven by what is happening now. After wasting numerous opportunities, those concerned with the issue have themselves embraced the line which Egypt followed in the direction of establishing peace in the area. I hope they will achieve what Egypt could have achieved at that phase of the Palestinian issue.

[AL-MAJALLAH] In that period, did Egypt try to explain its viewpoint positively?

[Khalil] Egypt's positions were very clear. President al-Sadat was careful to visit President Hafiz al-Asad in Syria before the Jerusalem visit. Yasir 'Arafat was sitting next to me at the People's Assembly session in which President al-Sadat declared that he was going to go to Jerusalem. 'Arafat applauded the declaration. Nobody can deny this. But President al-Sadat did not wish to embroil others in policies which he believed to emanate from the crux of Egypt's sovereignty. Arab consensus does not mean the Arab countries' intervention in another countries' sovereignty conditions.

[AL-MAJALLAH] But Camp David touched on the Palestinian issue, in addition to the occupied Egyptian territories.

[Khalil] We touched on the Palestinian issue but did not use it for mercenary purposes. Egypt's position was objective but it surpassed the Arab countries' comprehension capability. Time has proven the soundness of that position. It has also proven that the PLO made a mistake by wasting the past 10 years.

[AL-MAJALLAH] In your capacity as Egypt's prime minister and foreign minister in the period which followed the boycott, were anti-Arab policies practiced in that period?

[Khalil] Throughout the boycott period, Egypt was eager for its Arab belonging and for the Arab brothers. On the day following the Arab boycott resolutions, I instructed all the ministries to receive the Arab brothers well at all the Egyptian ports and airports. We did not tackle the boycott resolutions with more than they could withstand and we did not take any step in retaliation for the boycott the Arab brothers were applying in every area. Egypt did not disappear from the Arab political arena. We took a clear and firm position on the Iraq-Iran war. Even though Iraq embraced the boycott resolution, Egypt gave it military and political aid in its war. Egypt also protested Israel's intervention in Lebanon.

[AL-MAJALLAH] Some political analyses ascribe the change in the Arab countries' position to the failure of the policy of normalization between Egypt and Israel in the past 10 years.

[Khalil] I regret this interpretation because the criterion here is Egypt's stance on the Arab issues and Egypt's eagerness for common Arab action. This is the fundamental criterion for any unified Arab performance.

[AL-MAJALLAH] How do you view the future Arab relations?

[Khalil] I believe that this page in its entirety should be turned over and forgotten because the future world is a world of major blocs, of a Europe united in 1992, of a single Canada-U.S. market, and of a unified performance by the Soviet Union, China, and the eastern bloc. It is a world different from yesterday's world of the two superblocs. As Arabs, we must seek a place in tomorrow's world. We do not advocate the creation of an Arab bloc with the concept of hostility to the other blocs because the world's hostility pattern has retreated. We call for a bloc that leads to the growth of Arab development and of our capability to compete peacefully with the other blocs in a manner that enhances our peoples' level.

[AL-MAJALLAH] Within the framework of the recent changes in the Palestinian and Arab arenas, do you expect the Palestinian state to be established shortly and what form will it take?

[Khalil] I think that the Palestinian state will be established and I believe that it will take the form stipulated by the February 1985 agreement between Jordan and the Palestinians, meaning that there will be a confederal state between Palestine and Jordan. This represents the beginning of a realistic solution to the Palestinian problem. As to what will follow, it is in the realm of the unknown. This is the vision on which, I believe, all the parties will agree.

[AL-MAJALLAH] Do Shamir's recent proposals on election in the occupied territories represent a step toward restoring balance to the Israeli policy vis-a-vis the Palestinians, especially since Shamir has declared that the proposals fall within the framework of the Camp David accord?

[Khalil] I have read Shamir's proposals carefully and compared them with the provisions of the Camp David accord. I have numerous reservations on these proposals. Shamir has retreated from what was agreed upon in the negotiations between us and them on the bank and Gaza.

[AL-MAJALLAH] How is this?

[Khalil] Regarding the election, we agreed in our negotiations with the Israelis on holding elections in the bank and Gaza under international supervision and on allowing Palestinian candidates from within and from outside the occupied territories to run. We also agreed that the purpose of the election is to create a legislative council from which the self-rule authority emanates. Shamir's proposals are totally different from this. I have all the documents concerning what the Israelis agreed to. I hope that the Palestinian leaders will request these documents from the Egyptian Government.

#### **Former Minister of Awqaf Discusses Application of Islamic Law**

45040324b Cairo AL-NUR in Arabic 21 Apr 89 p 3

[Interview with Dr 'Abd-al-Mun'im al-Nimr, former minister of awqaf, by 'Abd-al-Sabur Fadil, place and date not specified]

[Excerpts] [Passage omitted]

[AL-NUR] Some say that 99 percent of existing laws conform to Islamic law. What is your opinion?

[Al-Nimr] Many of the current laws do conform to Islamic law, but nowhere near 99 percent. In my estimation perhaps 80 percent or a little more do so, and they are what can be called Islamic because they do not violate Islamic law.

And there are some laws, especially those on incitement [gharar], legal punishments, and banking, that openly violate Islamic law.

#### **Application of Islamic Law**

[AL-NUR] Some call for the immediate application of Islamic law, others demand that it be applied gradually, whereas yet others do not support application, arguing that society is not ready for it, religiously and economically. What do you say?

[Al-Nimr] The predominant tendency among men of religion at al-Azhar and others is that the rules of Islamic law, especially on legal punishments and banking, can be applied gradually as existing circumstances warrant. As for those who insist on immediate application of all laws, they do not appreciate the obstacles. As for those who oppose application altogether, they do not sense the pulse of the Islamic, Egyptian nation. Rather they are cut off from it. They have an erroneous concept of Islamic law, and therefore they oppose it, but they are a very small minority.

#### **The Twenty Percent**

[AL-NUR] What is your view of the twenty percent of laws that do not conform to Islamic law?

[Al-Nimr] Rushing things would cause harm to the economy, and at the same time the nation is not ready socially for the application of a single one of these Islamic laws. Therefore, the application of these laws must be carefully considered and the way prepared for them, because if decisions are made before preparation, the damage would be greater. When Dr 'Abd-al-Halim Mahmud, may God rest his soul, was alive, he formed committees to purge the laws of what was contrary to Islamic law, and great strides were made. Then this stopped upon his death. There is no objection to the way in which laws are enacted, for if certain obstacles and difficulties stand in the way of issuing the Islamic laws prepared in the People's Assembly, we have before us this path opened by Dr 'Abd-al-Halim, namely purging, to which we can turn.

I have a broader view than that, which I have made clear in the People's Assembly in many of the articles that I have written in the newspapers. This view demands that we not limit application only to issuing some Islamic laws; rather, attention must be paid to educating the nation in a true Islamic manner, and it demands that individuals apply the rules to themselves so as to create a suitable atmosphere for the application of Islamic laws.

[AL-NUR] How would we bring about Islamic education in such a society as this, which is exposed to temptation and a call to moral deviation, and is urged to vice [razilah] by the media and recreational and cultural institutions? Who can impose an Islamic orientation on the people?

[Al-Nimr] We still agree that education is the foundation, since it is needed in order to reform society, and all the media maintain that. [passage omitted]

#### **The Object of an Outcry**

[Al-Nimr] As for the subject of who gets the home upon divorce: an outcry has arisen over this, even though it is found in all the old and new Islamic rules and laws, for the home goes to the children and the custodial wife. Problems have arisen because of the housing crisis, whereby a father cannot provide a home for himself on the one hand, and one for his children and their custodial mother on the other, so the situation was difficult. Either we would expel the children and their mother from the home, and the husband would remain, or he would leave the home, and his children would stay with their custodial mother. In either case one of the two parties would be hurt, but we chose the lesser of the two evils, which is for the children to stay in the home with their custodial mother and for the husband to leave. [passage omitted]

#### **The Problem of Youth**

[AL-NUR] What is your opinion of the problem of youth?



[Al-Nimr] The problem of youth is the country's problem, because young people need jobs after they graduate, and the state is required by law to provide them. The harm caused by that has appeared recently and has become a chronic problem over time.

[AL-NUR] I mean the young people of the Islamic universities.

[Al-Nimr] Some of them are moderate and pleasant, but some are young men whom bad times have helped to turn aside from the moderate path, so they surge on, appealing to religion as a shield against their low standard of living and their poverty. When others incite them to extremism they respond with a fervor that mirrors life. When those who as students surged forth with extreme views joined the labor force, their anger diminished. It would be a freak occurrence if the severity of the crisis that we are now experiencing were to just vanish.

[AL-NUR] What is your opinion of the current clash between the young people and the authorities?

[Al-Nimr] The use of violence by the young people is inevitably followed by violent measures as well that aim to stabilize the situation. That is the duty of the Interior Ministry, but this duty must not go beyond what is reasonable.

**Baha'-Al-Din Criticizes Al-Sha'rawi, Ibn-Baz on Islamic Law**

45040324a Cairo AL-NUR in Arabic 21 Apr 89 pp 1,8

[Text] In a symposium organized by the writers' guild last Wednesday, journalist Ahmad Baha'-al-Din, as is his wont, blasted the issue of applying Islamic law and those who call for it.

At the start of his speech Prof Baha'-al-Din admitted that if a popular referendum on applying Islamic law were held, the people would approve of it by 99 percent, but he quickly put things straight, saying: "But which Islamic law would we apply? There is no single Islamic law, rather there are many writings with interpretations of this Islamic law by jurists such as Abu-Hanifah, al-Shafi'i, and Malik. There is also a legacy of millions of books made over a period of 1400 years."

Prof Baha'-al-Din used the same ploy used by secularists in their writings. He said: "Who is it who will interpret Islamic law?"

He added that, as he stands at the threshold of the twenty-first century, he cannot accept the interpretation of a legal scholar who lived in the desert, who did not have the knowledge that we have now.

He said that any person to whom God has granted a reasonable degree of sense and intelligence has the right to disagree with the greatest of the imams on Islamic law,

because an imam is not a prophet. Rather, he is a scholarly mujtahid. Then he claimed that some are now trying to impose things on society piecemeal, such as punishments prescribed by Islamic law, the return of the caliphate, covering the head, the length of the "gallabiyah," etc.

Ahmad Baha'-al-Din attacked Shaykh Muhammad Mutawalli al-Sha'rawi and Shaykh Ibn-Baz, head of the organization of Islamic scholars in Saudi Arabia. He accused them of spreading falsehoods among the Muslim peoples, exploiting their illiteracy and backwardness!

He claimed that some of these falsehoods that Shaykh Sha'rawi has voiced on television are that transplanting organs from one person to another is unlawful, and that the supreme goal towards which a person must strive is a return to God. He also attacked television and accused it of being responsible for broadcasting these falsehoods to millions, because—so he claimed—it glorifies al-Sha'rawi and allocates long hours during which he can talk to millions.

He also claimed that Shaykh Ibn-Baz, head of the organization of senior Islamic scholars in Saudi Arabia is the only man in the world who still refuses to accept that the earth is round, and that Saudi Arabia is secretly teaching students that the earth is round, while concealing that from Shaykh Ibn Baz!

**Magazine Analyzes Hard Currency Role in Economy**

45040378 London AL-MAJALLAH  
in Arabic 13 Jun 89 pp 38-40

[Article: "Blood Required for Egyptian Economy's Arteries; Supplying Hard Currency Is Main Concern of Political and Economic Decisionmakers"]

[Text] Supplying hard currency has been and will continue to be for a long time the main concern worrying the political and economic decisionmakers in Egypt. A day hardly passes without statements and interviews on steps to promote investment and remittances from Egyptians working abroad and, consequently, to promote investment in Egypt with all the foreign currency it brings in, with the profitable projects which this investment creates and which contribute to solving a part of Egypt's problems, including unemployment and the lack of financial resources, and also to encourage savers to deposit their money with the official banking channels. Until these steps are implemented, the surprising difference will persist between the Egyptian Government's need for foreign currency to finance government, public, and private sector projects and the availability of foreign currency, whether to Egyptians working abroad or to capitalists and project owners at home.

Figures supplied by the Egyptian Ministry of Planning show that estimates of the savings of Egyptians working abroad range from \$5 billion to \$7 billion. Other estimates indicate that money deposited with money investment companies exceeds \$4 billion.

In light of the fact that these companies operated remotely from legal control in the past, and that the unrealistic Egyptian pound exchange rates vis-a-vis foreign currencies led to complete estrangement between Egyptians' savings and remittances on the one hand and the official banking channels on the other, it is expected that modification of the exchange rates to make them more realistic, as well as exposure of the investment firms, will boost banking activity and will reflect on the economy's performance generally. Indications of this improvement have already surfaced. The resources of the free currency market have risen to \$4.5 billion and the remittances of Egyptians working abroad rose to \$1.5 billion in fiscal year 1987-88, compared to \$465 million in the preceding fiscal year. Moreover, in-kind remittances amounted to nearly \$2 billion in 1987-88.

Perhaps the importance of these rising indications of the remittances made by Egyptians abroad and of the free currency market's resources become clearer when we learn that Egypt's foreign loans decreased from nearly \$2 billion in the late 1970's to \$900 million this year.

This decrease in loans is due, according to Dr Kamal al-Janzuri, deputy prime minister and minister of planning, to the government's desire to reduce the state budget burden, considering that the policy of reducing loans is the shortest way to eliminate the balance of payment deficit and its inflationary consequences. The decrease is not due, again according to Dr Kamal al-Janzuri, to the fact that lending countries dictate unfair and difficult terms that make it difficult to get such loans. The reverse is true. The lending countries are now confident of the soundness of the Egyptian economy and the reform steps. Consequently, there is no difficulty in acquiring loans.

Dr Kamal al-Janzuri believes that the reasons for the decreasing foreign loans to Egypt are connected with the Egyptian producer's ability to prove his presence, to stand on his own feet, and to replace the requirements and raw materials that were imported with foreign currency as operational necessities. This \$900 million, in addition to other resources from remittances, Suez Canal fees, and Egyptian exports, is fully sufficient to cover the needs of the 1988-92 5-year plan.

These resources include the Suez Canal fees which rose to \$1.2 billion in 1987-88, thus exceeding the preceding year's revenues by \$120 million, the revenues generated by foreign currency which rose by 17 percent in the same period, amounting to \$4.5 billion and including \$3.1 billion in 1987-88 alone. The remittances of Egyptians working abroad also rose to \$1.5 billion in 1987-88, compared to \$465 million in 1986-87. This is in addition

to the \$2 million embodied in the goods, electrical appliances, and other commodities which returnees bring in with them and which are classified under the item of in-kind remittances.

#### Postinvestment Phase

If the period of recuperation from the so-called catastrophe of depositors in the investment firms—firms which paid their depositors nearly 150 million pounds monthly in the form of profits for their deposits—has lasted longer than necessary; if these firms' depositors are still the captives of regret and of waiting for what future steps may produce to enable them to recover their money; and if a new factor is added to the other recessionary factors that have afflicted the Egyptian economic market—a factor embodied in denying this market the 150 million pounds that used to be pumped into it monthly—then the Egyptian Government is looking, on its part, for new means to attract the remittances and savings of Egyptians to legal banking channels through the four banks under the Central Bank of Egypt, namely the Bank of Cairo, the Bank of Alexandria, the National Bank, and the Bank of Egypt, as well as commercial banks established in accordance with the investment law.

The new free currency market has revived the Egyptian banking apparatus with a constant activity of converting and exchanging foreign currency for Egyptian pounds. This market's average monthly revenues have amounted to \$258 million, which contribute to meeting the import needs.

#### Further Steps To Promote Saving

Despite these steps that have revived the Egyptian banking apparatus, even though they have been taken at the expense of the purchasing power of the Egyptian pound, the situation requires further measures to attract the remittances and savings of Egyptians, whether working abroad or in the country. Consequently, the Central Bank of Egypt is currently studying the measures necessary to bolster the Egyptian pound's exchange rate vis-a-vis foreign currencies and the means to increase revenues generated by foreign currency so as to meet the various needs of the government, public, and private sectors to the end of the current fiscal year, 1988-89, on 30 June.

Central Bank Governor Dr Salah Hamid is studying the position of the free foreign currency market's transactions, the major part of whose revenues is channeled to the private sector, so as to provide credit for imports and to repay the debts due. Dr Hamid is also studying the means to establish a unified and realistic exchange price for the Egyptian pound so as to attract further remittances from Egyptians in the Arab countries. These studies include the measures necessary to coordinate fiscal and banking policies and the instruments of the

currency policy so as to control foreign currency transactions and reduce the gap between revenues and expenditures. This is in addition to adopting permanent observation and control measures to eliminate attempts [to manipulate] the Egyptian pound's exchange rate outside the banking apparatus and to buy foreign currency at higher rates.

Meanwhile, the market's Pricing Committee reviews the Egyptian pound's exchange rate indicators in the currency market through the rates it posts daily in light of the transactions concluded locally, the average daily conversions, and the major currencies' exchange rates in the international markets so that the rates posted by the Pricing Committee may reflect the Egyptian pound's realistic value versus the various foreign currencies.

### Between Pincers' Jaws

Addressing the People's Assembly, Dr 'Atif Sidqi has said that the government is considering modification of the interest rates paid for savings deposited with the banking sector in order to attract more of these savings to the official channels and, consequently, to benefit the national economy.

Dr Sidqi announced that modification of the interest rates will take into consideration the perils of increased rates to Egypt's investment climate.

Some consider this modification, which has been made, a risk to investors. This reservation may lead to enacting the modification. Some people expect an increase in the interest rates to lead to a new inflationary wave because the investor who finances his projects with loans from the banking apparatus will be affected by this increase. The interest rate will be raised at two levels. The level of the interest rate paid for deposits placed with the banks is expected, according to observers, to be widely popular, especially since the investment companies have been exposed. The increase will also affect the debtor interest rate, meaning that a project owner seeking a loan to finance his project will pay a higher interest rate. This will in turn affect the production cost and will, consequently, raise the price of products, meaning that these links will ultimately saddle the Egyptian consumer with a new burden.

### Problem of Saving or Investment?

In this regard, figures show that Egyptian banks have \$18 million in idle deposits on which they, of course, pay interest to the depositors at a time when there are no guaranteed means to lend this money or when bank officers do not have the spirit to enter into adventurous projects for fear that they may lose their contributions or for fear that those in charge of the projects will abscond with their capital, including borrowed money.

The problem of the availability of financing with Egyptian pounds is countered by a fundamental problem that is almost unique, namely the lack of financing with foreign currency. Therefore, the solution lies in raising the interest rate for foreign currency, provided that the interest rate paid for this currency does not exceed the interest rate for deposits in Egyptian pounds.

It is well known that there are now two types of development bonds in dollars. The first type yields an annual interest rate of 8 percent. This type was issued in 1976, 1977, 1978 and its issuance will end in 1991.

The second type is the national development bonds that yield a variable interest tied to the bank-paid interest rate in the London market (known as the LIBOR [London Interbank Offered Rate] interest rate). This rate ranges from 8-8.5 percent. One issue of this bond has been made available and a sum of \$93.3 million has been subscribed.

### Twenty Percent Interest

Economists and financiers hope greatly that a savings bond with an interest rate reaching 20 percent will be issued in the form of certificates to be purchased in hard currency while the depositor is paid his interest in Egyptian pounds. To encourage purchase, such bonds should be exempted from special taxes and the general deposit tax, thus increasing the real interest yield to levels higher than those paid by the international money markets, not to mention offering security and confidence.

The Egyptian Government's tendency to discuss the means to encourage saving in foreign currency by offering the proper yield is, of course, considered the sound inlet to attract these savings. It was normal for these savings to turn to the money investment firms which were offering a yield of 12-25 percent for deposits in local currency and of 16-18 percent for deposits in foreign currency whereas the interest rate for deposits placed with the official banking apparatus did not exceed 11 percent annually for deposits in Egyptian pounds (a rate which reached 13.5 percent for long-term 10-year deposits) and 8.7 percent annually for deposits in foreign currency.

But this tendency alone is not enough, according to a bank president who has told AL-MAJALLAH: It is not enough to encourage saving in the absence of investment channels producing a rewarding yield. Relying solely on attracting savings by raising the interest rate is not the solution. What continues to be required is to attract these savings, to convert them into local currency, and to create long-term investment opportunities, thus offering a rewarding yield equaling, if not exceeding, current inflation rates which are estimated at 30 percent.

This will not be accomplished unless the banks look for investment opportunities that can be implemented promptly and produce a rewarding yield, and unless they promote such opportunities among savers and offer them competitively so that the savers may be partners in financing and managing such projects, especially since there have been numerous cases of Egyptian investors who spent a long time looking for investment opportunities in Egypt. The lack of a clear investment map and the complex administrative and bureaucratic procedures compelled these investors to invest their money in other Arab and foreign countries.

To achieve the objective of attracting savers, it is not enough for the banks to wait until the money comes to them. The banks must conduct research to identify needed projects and the resources required to implement them. The banks must also get involved in production to produce goods that can compete with what is available in the market, in addition to export goods, so as to create channels for attracting hard currency.

Some experts propose the creation at banks of investment funds to be managed independently, to undertake gathering capital in the form of partnerships, and to channel the outcome toward investment in existing or new projects. The value of the contributions will increase with the profits made. This concept is close to the investment concept which has succeeded tremendously and provides for purchasing shares and stocks in such projects. A dividend for the shares and stocks is distributed on the basis of the profits such projects make. This type of investment will reassure those who fear the suspicion of usury at the banks.

While awaiting issuance of the new investment law within weeks and the outcome of the law issued to modify interest rates to attract more savings, the Egyptian economy's wheel is turning slowly. To speed it up, it is necessary to pump more hard currency into the Egyptian economy's arteries.

## IRAQ

### Militarization Projects, Egyptian Participation Discussed

44040431 Cairo RUZ AL-YUSUF in Arabic  
1 May 89 p 28

[Article by Jamal al-Din Husayn]

[Text] Baghdad—Iraqi medium-range surface-to-surface al-Husayn and al-'Abbas missiles constituted a surprise which affected the course of the insane Iraq-Iran war and led decisionmakers in Teheran to accept a cease-fire and UN Resolution No 598, one year after it was issued.

Iraq's Asad Babil tank, Ababil air-to-air missile and al-Faw antimissile missile are other surprises produced

by Iraq after the cease-fire and during peace efforts. What are the dimensions of Iraq's military-industrial activity, and how far has it advanced?

Despite the high wall of secrecy in which the Iraqis enclose their military industries, information received by ROSE AL-YUSUF from a reliable source confirms that: Iraq is currently building a large military industries base; in the period before the breakout of fighting between Iraq and Iran (September 1980), Iraq made considerable efforts to build an industrial, agricultural, scientific, and military force whose strategic components were to be balanced with Iran's growing power under the Shah; the circumstances of war to which Iraq was gradually led, or which were imposed on it following the Shah's fall and Khomeini's assumption of power in Iran, impeded Iraq's ambitious development course, which aimed to make Iraq a Second World country by the mid-1980's; nonetheless, these circumstances compelled Iraq to focus on its military industries. During the first years of the war, Iraq's primary concern was local production of all of its ammunition and field missiles, which was a fixed stipulation in the arms deals which it concluded with numerous arms-producing states and companies. Then, there was Iraq's surprising upgrading of the Soviet Scud-B missile via reverse engineering, thereby improving its tactical capability. In this connection, available information indicates that the al-Husayn surface-to-surface missile, which incorporates the first upgrade of the Scud B, delivers a 550-kg demolition charge and has an operational range of 650 km. The second upgrading of the missile, designated al-'Abbas, increased the range to 950 km.

Iraq's launching of more than 190 surface-to-surface al-Husayn missiles against Teheran and other Iranian cities before the cease-fire undoubtedly confirms that Iraq possesses a strategic reserve of this type of ballistic bomb and therefore possesses the components for manufacturing it. Some military experts deem this probable.

Iraq caused another surprise, after the Iraq-Iran cease-fire on 8 August 1988, by announcing that its military industry had become capable of producing an Iraqi tank designated Asad Babil, an air-to-air missile designated Ababil, and an antimissile missile designated al-Faw, which was recently included in the Iraqi wing of the first Baghdad International Arms and Defense Equipment Exhibition. Iraq obtained the ability to produce such weapons without problems given the availability of the necessary financing, a human technical base, and a political decision. These three elements are available here in Iraq, where it is frequently mentioned that the Iraqi Government has earmarked \$10 billion for investment in the military industry sector during the next 5 years. Iraq also has a human technical base of Egyptian manpower in its military industry sector, which comprises 12-15,000 persons. Then there is the ease of political decision, which is linked with the person of Iraqi President Saddam Husayn.

Given these three elements, there is never a problem in purchasing a license to produce weapons from any foreign state, especially from states seeking to promote their military products, such as Brazil and Argentina.

Perhaps this explains the similarity between several Iraqi tanks at the Baghdad arms exhibition and the Brazilian-made Awzario tank.

Iraq's great concern with its military industry sector is motivated by a number of reasons:

1. Most certainly, the feelings of the Iraqi leadership that the war with Iran is not over as long as a peace agreement has not been reached.

2. The dangers presented by external forces to Iraq must never be ignored. Despite the cease-fire, and even after a comprehensive peace agreement is reached, Iran is expected to continue to be a probable danger, especially since it has geographic depth, and human and economic capabilities.

In addition to the probable danger posed by Iran, Israel poses a continuous danger to Iraq. Israel believes that what is permitted to it must not be permitted to others. It is striving to remain the major hegemonic, controlling power in the region, for the purpose of which it made a failed attempt to attack the Iraqi nuclear reactor in 1980, which was followed by a second attempt which succeeded in destroying the reactor in June 1981.

Recent Israeli threats to destroy the Iraqi nuclear reactor during its reconstruction and repair and other military-industrial installations, are serious threats of which Iraq is mindful. However, Israeli aggression against Iraq has been neutralized by Israel's calculation of an Iraqi response with surface-to-surface missiles against similar installations in the depth of the occupied Arab lands.

## ISRAEL

### Mengistu Planning To Renew Ties With Israel

34000516z London ADULIS in English Apr-May 89 p 5

[Text] According to diplomatic sources, Ethiopia's leader, Colonel Mengistu, is planning to pay a visit to Israel in the coming months. To this end, a flurry of secret contacts between Tel Aviv and Addis Abeba are already underway, the sources disclosed.

If the visit takes place as scheduled, it will constitute a non-negligible diplomatic symbol for the Israeli government. No African head of state, with the exception of Sadat in 1977, has visited Israel since the six-day Arab-Israeli war in 1967.

Ethiopia and Israel do not have diplomatic relations although their ties, formally broken in 1973, have never been totally severed. Israel has in fact continued to supply weapons and spare parts to Ethiopia during these

years. In 1982 Israel reportedly handed over to the Mengistu regime most of the weapons that it captured in South Lebanon from the Palestinians.

The enduring rapport between Israel and Ethiopia seems to have been increased from March 1988 onwards. In October last year a team of nine senior Israeli military officers, including the commander of Military Intelligence, General Amion Shahama paid a secret visit to Ethiopia. Israeli and other news reports have also established the presence of Israeli military advisors in Ethiopia. 38 Ethiopian pilots are receiving military training in Tel Aviv.

Renewed interest in Ethiopia is presumed to be rooted in the Israelis' obsession with guaranteeing the emigration of the remaining Falashas (Ethiopian Jews) to Israel. According to some Middle Eastern news agencies, Israel and Ethiopia have signed a secret pact that would allow Tel Aviv to remove the Falashas in exchange for Israeli military and economic aid to Addis Abeba. The agreement also leases, according to the same sources, Eritrean islands in the Dahlak Archipelago to Israel for use as an air base as compensation for Israel's commitment to assist the Ethiopian Air Force.

### Government Considers Various Legal Changes To Deal With Intifada

44230113c Tel Aviv YEDI'OT AHARONOT  
in Hebrew 22 May 89 p5

[Article by Yohanan Lahav: "The Chief of Staff in the Government Session: Change the Law to Allow Us to Expel those Freed in the Jabril Release"]

[Text] Aharon Toledano, Minister Avner Sha'qi's advisor, yesterday presented an album of pictures of the intifadah (uprising) to some of the government ministers: a six-year old boy with his head bandaged from a stone injury, injured Jews alongside their struck vehicles, holy books burned in the cemetery in Hebron, grave-stones that had been smashed and others, upon which swastikas had been drawn.

The Chief of Staff, who made a distinction between the battle with terrorists near Hebron and the events of the intifadah (thereby drawing the anger of some of the Likud ministers), reported to the government that nine out of ten terrorists and intifadah activists who serve their terms return to hostile activity, and demanded a change in the law to make it possible to expel, without complicated and difficult procedures, those who were freed in the Jabril deal, once they are caught again in hostile activity.

Shim'on Peres, as acting Defense Minister: "There is no transition to the use of live ammunition against the intifadah. The terrorists, who fired near Mt. Hebron, did not initiate the use of weaponry. We stumbled across them. They found themselves in dire straits and opened fire.

'Ezer Weizmann, speaking for the Minister of Police, who was abroad, told his colleagues about an increase of strikes within the Green Line.

The ministers found proof in the reported facts of what they already knew and said beforehand:

Moshe Qatzav, who demanded the closure of the West Bank and Gaza to restore order there, before the IDF (Israel Defense Forces) "pushed his demand" last week in Gaza: I accept the explanation of Peres and Shomron that what happened near Hebron is not a change in the intifadah. There is a dangerous tendency within the defense system to reconcile itself to reality. Anyone who thinks that political processes will solve the problem is naive. He again suggests: closure of Judea, Samaria and Gaza to the media, forbidding the citizenry to leave for work in Israel and carrying out suppression programs such as curfew, expulsions, harsh steps.

Ya'akov Tzur: Opposes "wonder recipes" from the right and the left. Qatzav's proposal is a dangerous, impossible, hysterical step. The solution: integration of a political program with a firm stance and massive IDF presence in the territories.

Gad Ya'aqovi: Israel is responsible for the welfare of the residents of the West Bank and Gaza, as well. Curfews and embargoes are no solution. They only add pressure to the Gaza pressure cooker. They also hurt the economy.

Yitzhaq Navon: A dangerous suggestion. It could bring about political, security and economic deterioration. Responding to a demand about what happened last week in Gaza: "It would be proper not to implement any new policy without bringing it up in advance for cabinet authorization."

Zevulun Hamer, who last week bombarded the Prime Minister with telegrams demanding that the government hold a basic discussion on the intifadah, asks: How is it possible that the government holds discussions on political and economic issues, but on an issue so existential and fateful has, to this day, had no discussion?"

Yitzhaq Shamir hands him a note stating: "When I return from Europe, I will consult with the Defense Minister on whether to hold such a discussion".

Avner Sha'qi, who is a professor of jurisprudence, repeated his demand for a special government session to discuss crushing the intifadah. He responded thus to the complaints from the Chief of Staff that the IDF is compelled to allocate forces to oppose rioting Jewish settlers: look, I've been after you all the time to set up a guard force of civilian settlers to lighten the load on IDF soldiers. On the other hand Sha'qi supported the Chief of Staff's demand for a change in the law to allow the expulsion of terrorists. This change, he said, must be made immediately.

### **Demands End to Either Intifada or Rabin**

44230113a Tel Aviv 'AL HAMISHMAR  
in Hebrew 4 May 89 p3

[Article by Pe'er-li Shahar: "The National Religious Party to Rabin: Eliminate the Intifadah or Resign"]

[Text] The office of the NRP (National Religious Party) launched a sharp attack yesterday on the Minister of Defense and his policy in the territories and demanded that he take new, energetic, forceful steps to end the intifadah (uprising).

"This is a defeat for the IDF (Israel Defense Forces). The most shameful part is you know you have the military forces and tools to do the job yet they display shocking helplessness. The time has come for Rabin to present a detailed plan for wiping out the Intifada; if he claims that he can't or won't, let him draw the proper conclusions," said MK Hanan Porat.

Minister Avner Sha'qi repeated the suggestions he made in a cabinet session, among them the establishment of a civil guard of West Bank residents, exploiting the expulsion option and closing mosques in which there is wild incitement to riot. "I suggested a number of measures to Rabin, but he is not ready to adopt them. Rabin must give an account to the people why he is not prepared to take the required steps right now."

The political secretary, Sha'ul Yahalom, said that the NRP demands a change in security forces policy and a return of IDF strength in the territories to full capacity by taking the initiative in the cities and towns to eliminate the violence.

With regard to the political program, the NRP determined that a precondition to any political initiative is an energetic suppression of the intifada, both by allocating comprehensive resources and by taking sharper, more efficient steps. No political process must ever lead to a Palestinian state. The NRP also said that the residents of East Jerusalem must not be allowed to participate in the elections or in the political process.

### **Meridor on Rabin Request, Deportations**

TA0107104789 Tel Aviv IDF Radio in Hebrew  
0805 GMT 1 Jul 89

[Interview with Justice Minister Dan Meridor by Yosi 'Abadi and Dani Vessely; date and place not given—recorded]

[Excerpt] ['Abadi] Good morning Justice Minister Dan Meridor.

[Meridor] Good morning.

[Abadi] Are the deportations of the eight residents of Judea and Samaria, leaders of the uprising, an indication that the current procedures of deportations are sufficient?

[Meridor] A deportation is one of the measures we have at our disposal in the war against the intifadah [uprising]. No deportation, no single measure is enough. Those means are being adapted to the circumstances. While being adapted to the situation and to IDF [Israel Defense Forces] needs, those steps are in accordance with our set of norms and values. That is why there is a certain procedure that must be followed. I believe that the prevailing procedures are reasonable. The fact is that we do deport. Eight people were deported just the other day. Should the need arise—if the defense establishment believes that there are more people whose deportation would help pacify the area, then the same procedures will be followed, though in a faster pace, I hope. It is possible. I must confess that before I assumed my current position I believed that the measure of deportation should be used more often, but not because it is easy; it is a very hard punishment. It is in fact the punishment of "you shall be a fugitive and a wanderer on the earth" inflicted on the first murderer, Cain. I believe that there is no way around it and that it should be practiced. The current procedures are, in my opinion, enough. They could even be hastened.

[Vessely] Still, the defense minister complains that this measure is not effective enough. The result is that we are the loser either way: The Defense Ministry is not satisfied; those criticizing the deportations reject the proposition to hasten procedures. Is there no room to respond to the Defense Ministry's request and find shorter proceedings so that when deportations are finally carried out, they are also effective.

[Meridor] First of all I believe that a deportation is an effective punishment. Deportations can be carried out through quite short proceedings. I do not wish to refer to this or other requests. At present, as far as I can tell, there is no Defense Ministry request to ban the involvement of the High Court of Justice in supervising the Army's activities on the issue of deportations.

[Abadi] There is, however, a request to shorten the procedures. Is it at all possible?

[Meridor] With all due respect, before the issue reaches the High Court of Justice there are a number of procedures, all carried out inside the defense establishment. There are military committees that will need to become more energetic and do the work faster. I suggest, however, that we never focus on a single proceeding. I wish to stress that the minute a deportation decree is issued, it gets published and has a substantial effect. At the same time, the person is detained and is no longer free, and when the hearing is over he can be deported. Some of

those eight people who were deported 2 days ago, could have been deported months before because the High Court of Justice appeal hearing was over or not filed at all.

[Vessely] Why were they not deported then?

[Meridor] The defense establishment has its own good reasons. They know whether a deportation should be carried out on a certain date, and so on.

[Abadi] Are you not in fact reversing the defense minister's claim back at him.

[Meridor] As you must have noticed I am not in the habit of arguing with the defense minister in public. We maintain very tight and good working relations even when the matters we discuss are leaked to the press, often not very precisely. The defense and the legal establishments have been in close contact for the past 18 months. It is no accident that since the intifadah started, not a single request of the defense establishment has been rejected and not a single appeal accepted by the High Court of Justice. That is because we were consulted on every single issue. I would not like to see an appeal against a deportation decree of any of these people being accepted against the defense establishment. This could happen, but not when we are consulted first. We have reached a good situation, and a significant level of deterrence has been maintained as not a single appeal was accepted after the legal establishment approved the deportation decree.

[Abadi] Does not the defense ministry request reflect a statement according to which handling the intifadah requires, besides the military means employed, legal measures that would be different from those prevailing today?

[Meridor] Let us not make a mistake. We need to focus on the main issue in question. Dealing with the intifadah requires funds. The Finance Ministry should provide them. I assume there are debates on the sum that is needed, which is natural. Political means are also needed, not to deal directly with the intifadah, but to prevent an outcry against us in the real world, which is always positive but not always possible. Flexible legal measures are also needed. I have said before and I shall repeat: We follow an ancient adage in our legal system. It was said: "He shall live and not die because of them;" meaning that the laws should not be made very pretty, yet impossible to live with. That is why the juridical and legislative systems, as well as their interpretation should be obligated to adapt the law, the interpretation, and the regulations to the Army's needs so that it can fight and win the war it is in. That is why we made amendments, corrections, and adaptations, and we still do, all of this, however, while maintaining a basic norm of values at all times. The Army also wants it maintained. I do not wish this to be a case of the good guys versus the bad guys, or those who want against those who prevent them from

getting their desire. Everything is being done in coordination, and I believe in a good and successful manner. The results so far demonstrate just that. I do not believe that legal measures would solve the intifadah. It does not have a legal solution, and one should not be looked for in the legal system. Its solution is, I believe, military. I say this not only as a justice minister, but also as someone who is familiar with the facts in the field. In the past 1 or 2 months, there has been a substantial improvement in the Army's successes in its confrontation with the intifadah. I cannot say that it is over yet, but important progress has been made.

[Vessely] By that you mean that the situation does not entail the legislative changes the Defense Ministry is requesting?

[Meridor] The situation obliges us to examine and reexamine procedures and orders constantly. We are doing just that, and when a change is needed it is made. Despite all my affection for the IDF Radio, I do not wish to go into detail while on the air. Orders are being proposed all the time. You probably recall the open fire orders we discussed and changed, the procedures of administrative detentions we amended, or an amendment of the terror prevention order which I presented to the Knesset upon a request of the defense establishment, and many others. We maintain a natural habit of constantly examining, changing, and amending legislation.

[Abadi] Will this continue in the future?

[Meridor] Of course. [passage omitted]

#### **Rabin Reports Improved Detention, Search Procedures**

TA0907131489 Tel Aviv HA'ARETZ in Hebrew  
9 Jul 89 p 3

[Report by Gid'on Alon]

[Text] Defense Minister Yitzhaq Rabin has announced that according to a recent instruction issued to the defense establishment, each security detainee must be advised of the grounds for his detention either while the detention is being carried out or not later than after he is brought to a detention facility. This change is one of a series of improvements introduced by the defense minister in the sphere of civil rights and in the context of detentions, searches, and trial proceedings of Arabs from the territories.

The changes were introduced as a result of debates in the Knesset Constitution, Law, and Justice Committee, which had been prompted by a motion submitted by Knesset Member 'Abd-al-Wahab Darawishah. The committee heard from the attorneys of Arab detainees that families are not notified of detentions and whereabouts, and that reasons for detentions are also often withheld.

Representatives of the attorneys also complained that searches of suspects' homes are not always carried out in the presence of witnesses and that lists of confiscated property are not always compiled. They also charged that attorneys are not accorded proper conditions for meetings with their clients, that they are not allowed to plea bargain, and that there is poor timing in the remand of custody.

In the wake of these debates, the committee recommended that improvements be made in all spheres pertaining to civil rights. In a letter to Knesset Speaker Dov Shilansky, the defense minister stated that improvements have been introduced in the procedure governing notification of detainees' families. He stressed that the authorities are looking into the possibility of improving the issue even further by notifying families by telephone whenever possible.

As for attorneys' visits to detention facilities, Rabin noted that meetings with attorney representatives have been held and that arrangements pertaining to these visits have been formulated. In his opinion, this subject does not seem to cause problems any longer. As for procedures governing searches and lists of detainees' property, Rabin noted that legal instructions regarding the binding procedure during searches have been issued.

On the issue of legal hearings, the defense minister emphasized that many efforts have been made in a bid to make the military court system in Gaza more efficient. According to him, a recently installed computerized system in Gaza military courts allows better control of files. Also, additional judges have been recruited for these courts. He pointed out, however, that "we must remember that the legal system has to deal with thousands of defendants, all of whom deny the charges against them. The need to furnish evidence forces us to conduct often protracted trials, which causes courts to be jammed."

#### **New Detention Facility Being Built in Gaza Strip**

TA2606120189 Tel Aviv HADASHOT in Hebrew  
26 Jun 89 p 7

[Report by Mikhal Qedem]

[Excerpts] Construction on a new lockup facility for Gaza Strip detainees which began a few days ago will be completed within several weeks. The facility, being set up adjacent to the military government offices in Khan Yunus in the southern sector of the Strip, is meant to reduce the crowding at Ansar 2 and Ansar 3.

Ansar 2 was set up in late 1986 near the Gaza beach and was used for administrative detainees awaiting trial, as well as for convicted prisoners. There were many hunger strikes there because of the very poor conditions. [passage omitted]



When the intifadah [uprising] began in late 1987, Ansar 3 was set up at Qezi'ot for 3,000 detainees. There were many riots and extended hunger strikes at Qezi'ot, and five detainees were murdered there in the past year. Upon their release, detainees reported having been humiliated and treated badly by the wardens.

The new facility in Khan Yunus is being built on a site used for temporary lockups made up of tents or small huts, in which residents of Khan Yunus and Rafah spent up to 24 hours for initial interrogation and from which they were transferred to other detention centers. With the establishment of the new facility, the security forces will be able to keep detainees there for much longer.

The IDF [Israel Defense Forces] spokesman yesterday confirmed that a new facility is being built.

**Alleged Syrian Attempt To Agitate Druze Fails**  
*44230113b Tel Aviv 'AL HAMISHMAR*  
*in Hebrew 14 May 89 p4*

[Article by Yehuda Tzur: "Syria's Attempt to Agitate the Druze in the Golan to Demonstrations Failed"]

[Text] Over the last two days thousands of Druze congregated opposite the "hill of shouts" in the Golan Heights and called out to their brothers in Majdal Shams to hit the streets and confront the hundreds of regular and border police who had been brought in to maintain order on the "Day of the Syrian Gadna' (Youth Corps)."

On Friday the Damascus authorities opened a festive "Summer Camp for Ba'ath Pioneers" in Qunaytirah. In order to celebrate the event, thousands of youths were brought to the "hill of shouts"... [text interrupted at this point, article cut at the wrong place].

...them if they would dare to go up and demonstrate from the roofs," a police officer told me. The streets of Majdal Shams were desolate and the stores were closed. The residents were warned not to go up onto their roofs to answer the calls, and only a few dared to go up.

Druze notables and religious leaders appealed to the citizenry to refrain from any violence or demonstrations and to act in accordance with the instructions of the authorities.

Farmers could be seen working their plantings. Schools were opened as usual, but a large number of the students disappeared after showing up for roll-call.

In Kafr Mas'ada the high school students [word missing] to strike in protest against the detention of 48 of their fellows suspected of burning an Israeli flag on Memorial Day and holding an illegal demonstration the following day. They are still being held.

In the Tel Hay teachers college two young Druze from the Golan were arrested while duplicating placards against the State. The two will be expelled from their studies at the college.

On the Israeli side police waved Israeli flags on the roofs of houses alongside the border and on their vehicles.

Yesterday afternoon about two hundred residents of Majdal Shams tired to get to the hill of shouts but were scattered by the police without the use of force. In the opinion of many in Majdal Shams, there was no need for the increased police presence because the Ba'ath Party does not have much support in the Golan, and this was a Party event, not a Syrian national event.

On Friday, Druze condemned the burning of the Israeli flag and noted that their struggle was not against the people in Israel "but against Israeli authority in the Druze villages in the Golan, which are part of the Syrian nation."

The heads of Jewish settlements in the Golan appealed to the police to prevent disorder by the Druze. The head of the Qasirin town council, Sami Barlev, said that it was ingratitude on their part that after 20 years of prosperity they would dare to burn the Israeli flag. The regional council head, Yehuda Wolman, asked the police to do everything necessary to prevent the Druze from burning the Israeli flag or waving the PLO (Palestine Liberation Organization) flag in any place under Israeli sovereignty.

The tension continues and large regular and border police forces are in the area.

**Arab Parties Move To Form Single Body for Elections**

*TA2206202689 Jerusalem TV in Hebrew*  
*1800 GMT 22 Jun 89*

[Text] In the upcoming Histadrut elections, a single list of Israeli Arabs may run. An agreement on such a move was achieved today in Haifa in a meeting between the leaders of HADASH [Democratic Front for Peace and Equality], the Progressive List for Peace, and the Arab Democratic Party. Our correspondent Ehud Ya'ari has more details:

The idea is not new, but this is the first time that it seems it may be coming to life: One single list to concentrate the majority of the Arab sector votes, striving to win a position that will make it the decisive force able to tip the scale in the political scene. The trial balloon will be launched in the Histadrut elections, although there was mention of the Knesset elections too during today's meeting at the Nof Hotel. RAKAH [New Communist List], responding to the initiative of Knesset Members [MK's] Darawishah and Mi'ari, has lifted its longstanding veto which had blocked cooperation with its

competitors in the Arab sector. Everyone agreed today that an attempt will be made to set up a list that will also consist of Jews, rather than an exclusively, purely Arab list.

The RAKAH leaders have already pointed out that they may well demand that the joint list be headed by a Jew, not an Arab. Mi'ari reacted by saying: This is something over which we will yet argue.

It was also agreed that a joint committee will now work on a platform that will deal solely with practical matters, avoiding ideological differences. This committee will have to rule on the division of guaranteed seats on the lists to the Histadrut council, the labor unions, and the women's organizations.

MK Tubi of RAKAH suggested today that his party's new partners be allocated between one-quarter and one-third of the seats. This is currently unacceptable to them. One of the reasons for this is because the response of the Islamic Movement's leaders is still awaited. They were also invited to join.

We were told this evening that the joint list is meant to form a new framework, not a conglomeration of the existing movements. As for the new list's name, several suggestions have already been raised. The merger is not yet assured, as there are still quite a few obstacles and a large measure of mutual suspicion. Yet the loss of many thousands of Arab votes during the last Knesset elections due to the absence of surplus vote distribution agreements, coupled with the rise of the Islamic Movement in the elections for the local councils, have prodded everyone to join hands. If this happens, a highly significant change, which will lead to the establishment of one party to represent the Israeli Arab minority, will gradually take shape.

**PLO Said To Seek Involvement in Elections**  
*TA0307162589 Tel Aviv HA'ARETZ in Hebrew*  
*3 Jul 89 p 11*

[Commentary by Ze'ev Schiff: "Salvation Will Not Come From the Palestinians"]

[Text] Simultaneous talks on the preparatory stage for the elections are being held behind the scenes between the United States and the PLO (Palestine Liberation Organization) on the one hand, and the United States and Israel on the other. Some of the problems and difficulties the sides are liable to encounter as the political process progresses are already showing up at this initial stage. The issue currently in question concerns the type of elections that are to be held in the territories. The Israeli Government would be naive to believe that in the wake of its political initiative, a group of Palestinian notables would rise in the territories and state that they are willing to hold talks on the character of the elections.

Israel cannot dictate how the elections will be held. If the elections are to be free, the voters should also have their say. In other words, even at this early stage Israel should reach an agreement with the Palestinians on the type of elections. That is why it declared that it is willing to accept U.S. and Egyptian assistance in forming a temporary joint committee that would present a suggestion for the method of elections, with all that it involves. Obviously, the United States and Egypt would not raise suggestions without consulting the PLO first; and indeed this is just what is happening today.

Two major issues are on the agenda of the United States-PLO talks. First, the PLO is not willing to be satisfied with presenting a list of Palestinian figures from the territories who would be appointed to the temporary joint committee. It is demanding that the fact that they were appointed by the PLO be made public. Second, it is demanding that a Palestinian figure from the outside be present in addition to the figures from the territories.

Israel has agreed that the figures on the temporary committee could follow the PLO ideology. If, however, it were made public that they had been appointed by the PLO or that they reported to its leadership, Israel would cancel its participation in the committee. The Americans are thus telling the PLO: You must show restraint. It is more important that the process is allowed to start than for you to declare your part in it. In other words, help us arrange the fictitious setting Israel wants; namely, that the PLO has nothing to do with the political process. A U.S. source has revealed that this was one of the issues discussed by U.S. Ambassador Pelletreau and Abu-Iyad [Salah Khalaf], 'Arafat's deputy.

It is reasonable to assume that a compromise between the United States and the PLO on this matter will be found. The PLO will refrain from declaring that it appointed the Palestinians on the temporary committee, but it will state as much, for example, in the leaflets published by the Unified National Command of the Uprising. This means that the appointments will come from the inside and not from Tunisia, the committee members will get their approval, and we will all have the cake and eat it too.

Personally, I do not believe that the PLO will keep this agreement. It will be overcome by the desire to show its direct involvement in the political process at this early stage. This was the case with the meeting Pelletreau held with Abu-Iyad. The Palestinians were asked not to publish the fact that the meeting took place, but they did, as several U.S. officials had forewarned. Incidentally, the immediate reason for the invitation of Abu-Iyad to meet Pelletreau was the U.S. feeling that the Palestinian representative with whom the meetings have been held is a member of the Democratic Front for the Liberation of Palestine (which keeps attacking Israel on its northern border), and that they lack the direct access to the Fatah—the central and most pragmatic organization in the PLO.

Those who trust the Arabs to once again save Israel's neck and, as they did so many times before, reject the political initiative, will realize that they were mistaken. The Palestinians have no intention of doing so. One of them said in a private conversation: You will not hear a "no" to the elections proposal from us. Although PLO-Tunisia is seriously worried about what might happen after the elections, it is concerned now with the conditions for the elections and not with objecting to them in principle. The PLO may soon come out with an elections proposal of its own in order to assume the initiative.

The PLO's preconditions for the elections were widely published. For example, it demanded that the IDF [Israel Defense Forces] withdraws or that a UN force be stationed in the territories prior to the elections. These are not the truly important PLO preconditions. It is willing to accept a different IDF deployment during the election period. It is more concerned with knowing its place throughout the whole process. If the intention is to neutralize it, the chances for the elections to be held are nil. The question of East Jerusalem residents' participation in the elections is also important. The issue is not merely nationally symbolic; there is a practical reason for their concern. Many of the most prominent Palestinian leaders, such as Sari Nusaybah and Faysal al-Husayni, currently reside in East Jerusalem. According to the Israeli proposal they could not be elected. It may be assumed that the Palestinians would win U.S. support on the issue of East Jerusalem voters and candidates. Rabin also tends to favor a formula of compromise on this matter.

The first issue is more complicated: the PLO role in the peace process, or rather how it would be incorporated in the second stage. The PLO representatives tell the Americans that they would not like to enter a dead-end street; they would like to know in advance where the process will lead. They are willing to accept general terms as well. They are willing to accept the notion of a transitional period, even if it is a long one, but they want to know the final objective.

Washington is telling the PLO that it can make no promises for Israel. You should, however, say the U.S. representatives, let the process begin. Neither the Palestinians nor the PLO will suffer damage from this momentum.

Both the Israeli and the Palestinian camps have fears and suspicions. Currently, both have a similar tactical goal: They want to establish at its onset where the process will eventually lead or not lead. Israel wants to make sure that talks will never be held on the founding of a Palestinian state—not with the PLO and not with the residents of the territories. The Palestinians—and on this there is not much difference between the PLO outside the territories and the one inside—want to make certain even before the process starts that they are not being maneuvered into an Israeli-controlled autonomy.

**Uprising Spurs Gaza Refugees To Leave Camps**  
*TA0607150389 Jerusalem THE JERUSALEM POST*  
*in English 6 Jul 89 p 1*

[Report by diplomatic correspondent Menahem Shalev]

[Excerpts] The number of Gaza refugees wishing to relocate to homes outside their camps has leaped nearly thirty-fold since the start of the intifadah [uprising], but the uprising itself has brought ongoing relocation efforts to a virtual standstill, a Gaza Civil Administration official said yesterday.

A Foreign Ministry team charged with formulating proposals concerning the third clause of the government's peace initiative, the "rehabilitation" of Palestinian refugees, went to Gaza yesterday, where a discreet rehabilitation programme was launched in 1972.

The team was astonished to hear from Rafi Sade, the head of the Gaza Civil Administration's Refugees Rehabilitation Division, that since the start of the intifadah more than 17,000 requests have been submitted for new lodgings outside the Strip's eight refugee camps. Before the intifadah, Sade said, only 500-700 such requests were submitted each year.

Since 1976, when Gazan families first started joining the relocation campaign, over 14,000 families, which have since increased to 22,000 families, have been moved. Sade, who has headed the rehabilitation program since its inception, needs about \$1 billion to do away with the refugee camps completely and move the remaining 30,000 families, or 183,000 people, to new living quarters.

A somewhat smaller sum is needed to resettle the 80,000 refugees on the West Bank. But no one in Israel is about to provide such a sum, and even the paltry budgets allocated by the government in recent years for these purposes have been rerouted to other needs arising from the intifadah. The residents themselves, hard hit by the intifadah-induced economic slump, are finding it harder and harder to raise the funds needed for the houses they wish to build.

Foreign Minister Moshe Arens has invited the ambassadors of the seven industrialized nations to his office today to ask them to help place Israel's refugee proposals on the agenda of the industrial nations' summit due to convene in Paris next week. [passage omitted]

Every family agreeing to relocate from the camps and to build its own home is given, free of charge, a 250-square meter plot, and infrastructure is provided by the administration at nominal cost. The family receives compensation for its previous lodging in the camp, in return for destroying it.

Officials are quite displeased with the role played by the UN Relief and Works Agency [UNRWA] in this matter. UNRWA, they allege, pours funds into the camps, thus inhibiting the outward movement of refugees. [passage omitted]

### **Responsiveness to Uprising Leaflet Calls Seen Rising**

TA0907050289 Jerusalem Radio in Hebrew  
0405 GMT 9 Jul 89

[Report by Arye Gus]

[Text] The inhabitants of the territories mark the end of the 20th month of the uprising and the beginning of the 21st with a general strike. In leaflet No. 42, the Unified National Command of the uprising called on the inhabitants to strike. The inhabitants of Gaza abided by the call and refrained from leaving for work in Israel this morning.

Popular responsiveness to the instructions included in the intifadah (uprising) leaflets has grown over the past few months. In Nabulus and several other places, the local youths upheld the call to mark the anniversary of the death of Palestinian poet (Ghassan Kanfani), who was killed 17 years ago as a booby-trapped car exploded in Beirut, with demonstrations.

All this notwithstanding, the really worrying phenomenon is the wave of attacks on Arab residents suspected of assisting Israel. Over the weekend, two mukhtars as well as others were assassinated. The mukhtar of Kafr Ra'i in the Janin District, Ahmad Raja' Yahya, was dragged out of his home by unidentified masked men. His body was found yesterday morning. He was stabbed with knives.

The mukhtar of Kafr Salim was murdered, but the locals claim that the motive for the killing is unknown.

In Yattah in the southern slopes of the Hebron Hills a drug dealer who was suspected of collaborating with Israel was killed. Over the weekend, a resident of the Al-Shaja'iyah neighborhood was murdered against a similar background. Mustafa Sa'd was killed by gunshot wounds to the head.

In violent clashes with the Army, a 21-year old IDF [Israel Defense Forces] soldier sustained medium injuries. He was hit in the face by a stone. He underwent general surgery at Barzilai Hospital in Ashqelon before being removed to another department for reconstructive mouth and jaw surgery.

A 16-year old Rafah youth was killed. As riots broke out during the funeral, the IDF imposed a curfew on the city's refugee camps, in addition to the one imposed several days ago on Khan Yunus and the Al-Nusayrat refugee camps.

### **Effects of Arab Withdrawal From Workforce Discussed**

44230121 Tel Aviv YEDI'OT AHARONOT  
in Hebrew 29 May 89 p 27

[Article by Nehama Du'ek]

[Text] Tension, anger, and, mainly, frustration—that's the atmosphere these days in the city of Ashqelon. The murder of the soldier Avi Sasportas, a resident of nearby Ashdod, and the searches for the missing soldier Ilan Sa'adon, a resident of Ashqelon, only fan the hatred and the anger. The city's leaders fear the moment when the fate of Sa'adon becomes known. According to them, the inhabitants are awaiting the results of the searches in order to take revenge on the Arabs, if the worst possible is indeed found to be true.

Gandy Hamiza, age 21, a resident of the village of 'Idna next to Hebron, still reports for work at the Yakhin plant in Ashqelon. He is scared to death, but still comes. He skillfully packs containers of Chinese orange preserves and says, "We wait at the Qiryat Gat or Ashqelon intersection for the transport to the plant and stones are thrown at us. They curse us. One day, we sat in the car and the Jews threw stones and broke the windshield. We asked the contractor to bring us to the plant and to pick us up from here at night. We fear that they'll kill us."

Very few Arab laborers are reporting to work in Ashqelon. Their absence is causing, in most cases, the shutdown of production lines. For more than 20 years, since the conquest in 1967, they have constituted the backbone of cheap production. For many plant managers, it was more worthwhile to employ them than to invest in machinery. Now, since the beginning of the intifadah [uprising] and, especially, since the last curfew in Gaza, which is the main source for laborers in the Ashqelon region, there are serious breakdowns in work. "On the one hand, it is difficult to depend on the arrival of the Arab laborers," said Nisim Dotan, the acting manager of the Yakhin plant. "On the other hand, the Jewish workers are not willing to work in jobs where Arabs were employed. This is the case mainly with the peeling of citrus fruit. Strong acids are given off during the peeling, and the Jews are unwilling to do this job even with gloves."

The plant also employs Arab welders, machinists, and mechanics, who have been working there for about 20 years. There is almost no substitute for them.

"A large part of the work is held up because it's difficult to know if the workers will report in the morning or not," says Dotan. "Therefore, we decided that we are willing to replace any Arab worker, even if he has worked for us for years, with a Jewish worker. We have absolutely nothing against them. When they report for work, they work fine. But we must end this terrible dependence, which is causing serious damages. For example, we had a chief electrician from Gaza. When the intifada began, he was

often absent from work. We have now reached an agreement that he be dismissed with full severance pay, and we've brought in his place a Jewish worker. True, I pay the Jew more. I'm willing to pay more to the Jew just in order to prevent the dependence on whatever decisions are made by the Military Government, by the leadership of the intifada, or by the Hamas [Islamic Resistance Movement]."

MK [Member of Knesset] Ely Dayan, the Mayor of Ashqelon: "To my regret, the workers aren't arriving even after the curfew was lifted from Gaza. The reason is not only the tension inside the plants, but mainly threats that the workers are receiving at home. We know of physical and verbal threats to our workers, who would very much like to come to work in Israel but are afraid. Whatever the case may be, the city is collapsing without the Arabs. The construction branch is completely paralyzed and is in the process of collapsing. The factories are having difficulties and are on the verge of shutting down. The city is filthy. We are being hurt by the fact that the employers sought cheap and exploitable labor. They preferred to employ cheap human hands over investment in machines. The party is over. Reality has overcome them, and now they are at an impasse."

The municipality also doesn't come out clean in the apocalyptic speech of Dayan, who is known for his dovish opinions. Of the 1,200 workers from the territories in Ashqelon, 120 work for the municipality in various maintenance jobs. None of them have been arriving recently. The city was drowning in waves of trash, and then the municipality offered very high wages to Jewish sanitation workers, if only they would appear—NIS [New Israeli Shekel] 1,500 net, instead of the approximately NIS 780 that the Arabs were paid. And today the messianic vision is being realized in Ashqelon—a Jewish worker wearing a yarmulke is speeding on the trash truck.

"It's true," says Ely Dayan, "we raised the wages in order to make the work more attractive. I decided to invest in automation and, instead of giving a little to a lot of workers, to spread the overall wages among those workers who appear."

Dayan is convinced that the only solution is political. "The government is confused and sends conflicting messages that show that there is no clear policy. In my opinion, both the right and the left have arrived at the necessary conclusion, that Gaza can go to hell. Everyone now agrees that the Strip should be separate from Israel. Therefore, in order to reduce the tension, as long as Israel rules there until there is a permanent settlement, factories should be established and jobs created there so that the Arabs of Gaza can work there and not be in need of the Israel labor market. We owe this to ourselves.

"The solution must be political. At the same time, everything should be done against terrorism. The soldiers shouldn't hitch rides any longer. Control who enters and who leaves from the Strip. After all, the intifadah is a war, and in war one acts appropriately."

While the politicians speak about tactics and strategies, the Miromit factory in Ashqelon for solar water heaters and metal closets is collapsing. The factory courtyard is desolate. Most of the production lines are shut down. Those workers who are there walk about crestfallen. The plant is producing about 20 percent of its normal output. The monthly operational loss comes to about 20 percent of sales. "If the situation doesn't change within 6 months I will be forced to declare bankruptcy," says Avy Ariely, the director general of the factory, which is owned by American businessmen.

For the factory to return to a reasonable level of operation, 10 welders are needed. There are 1,500 registered unemployed in Ashqelon, and there are no welders among them. Why? All of them were hired at the power station that is under construction in the vicinity. The residents of the city prefer to belong to the Electric Company family, than to work in an industry that is regarded as less sophisticated.

"At the moment, I have 7 foreign workers, and I'm begging for another 10, but permits are not being granted. Arabs are not reporting for work, Jews don't want to work, and the factory is collapsing. I don't sleep at night. I don't know what to do," says Ariely.

He, too, points an accusing finger at the industrialists, who preferred to base themselves on cheap labor instead of introducing advanced technology. "The Arabs are the backbone of the plant. There is no production without them. When they come, it's a pleasure to work with them. But they don't arrive every day," he says, adding that he is listed as seeking labor in the Employment Bureaus and in private employment agencies. "I offer NIS 1,500 to a beginning welder, and I don't succeed in receiving even one worker. Yes, to an Arab I am willing to pay only NIS 1,200. I am at peace with that, because there is no other way," says Ariely, and he explains in a businesslike tone that he owes it to himself in order to meet the export and production forecasts, for which he is already several months behind.

The Yakhin factory: a group of Arab and Jewish workers are milling about near the production line. They're joking with one another. On the surface, everything is as it should be. Afterwards, on the side, when no one hears, one of the workers says to me that he would kill the Arabs. All of them.

Arya 'Ozer, the secretary of the Workers Council in the city, says that there is tension in the air, hostility, on both sides. "We are sitting on a powder keg, and it's only a matter of time until it explodes," he asserts. Everyone is aware of the fact that the Sa'adon incident is liable to be the spark that lights the fuse.

"Once," says 'Ozer, "there was a dialogue between Jews and Arabs. Not today. Today, the looks say everything. There has been a movement towards a more extreme position mainly on the Jewish side. Two automobiles

belonging to Arabs from Gaza were burned on the power station parking lot. Stones are thrown at Arabs waiting at the intersections. There is talk against them. There is great frustration. We recently reached an understanding with the factories, according to which, in every case where a Jewish worker can be hired in place of an Arab, this will be facilitated. Once, they didn't even think of such a possibility."

There is also a number of factories in Ashqelon that decided years ago to hire Jews only. The reference is to Deutsch-Dagan, Elite, Levidim, 'Ashot (which employs 600 workers) and Qeren Electronics. "We're disgusted with the dependence. The time has come for us to be independent in our land," they say.

### **Uprising Duties Not Affecting Givati Brigade Training**

TA0707154489 Tel Aviv HA'ARETZ in Hebrew  
7 Jul 89 p A5

[Report by Dan Sagir]

[Text] The Giv'ati Brigade ended an extensive formation exercise yesterday to complete its training schedule. The exercise lasted several days and the units used various fighting techniques, taking into account local terrain and the mission imposed on them. Navy vessels, Air Force planes providing air cover, tank units, artillery, and engineering units participated in the exercise.

The climax of the exercise was a large seaborne landing and the occupation of a beachfront by the soldiers. Also, soldiers were dropped during the day and at night from transport helicopters while receiving assistance from gunship helicopters.

In an interview with HA'ARETZ before the exercise, Colonel I., Giv'ati Brigade commander, said the seaborne landing is the Giv'ati's field of expertise. He said the wide scope of the exercise and the action from the sea show the high trust the Army command places in its soldiers. The brigade commander also said its increased activities in quelling the intifadah [uprising] in the territories did not harm its essential training.

"We are now doing everything essential, and in many cases, the activities in the territories force us to train more. We exploit the time we spend in the territories to give soldiers time for training purposes," the commander said.

### **Political, Islamic Trends Among Israeli Arabs Examined**

44040424 Nazareth AL-SINNARAH  
in Arabic 19 May 89 pp 16, 7

[Article by Nizar Hasan in Haifa: "The Israeli Authorities' or Israeli Government's Policy on Palestinian Citizens of Israel in Aftermath of Election Results"]

[Text] There is no doubt that two main new occurrences are forcing the government of Israel to reconsider Israeli Palestinians or turn its attention to them.

The first occurrence is the Palestinian intifadah [uprising] in the occupied West Bank and Gaza Strip. The second is the outcome of the elections for the Knesset and for local authorities, but especially the latter. This will be explained subsequently.

The fact that the government of Israel is turning its attention to Israeli Palestinians manifests itself in two main news reports. The first report indicates that a position for an Arab affairs adviser has been restored. This is in addition to the position of Arab affairs minister, which for a period of time had replaced the adviser's position. The second news report, which appeared on the front page of the 21 April 1989 issue of HADASHOT, indicated that experts had informed the cabinet that "green line Arabs" could start an uprising.

Before proceeding with the inquiry which is the title of this article, I would like to mention that the identity of those experts is no secret to any Israeli Palestinian. They are Shin Bet experts, and that indicates, as it did in the past, what the government of Israel has in mind for its Palestinian citizens who reside inside the green line.

If these two news reports are seen as evidence that the government of Israel is turning its attention to Israeli Palestinians, it is obvious that Israel's previous assumptions and the policy it had pursued in the past must take into account new elements and developments which were affected by the intifadah. These new elements and developments were evident in the results of local elections. These elections for local positions were held in the real world in which Palestinians living in Israel have lived for over 40 years. So far, no change in that world was initiated by those who have been serving in those positions.

The aforementioned statement made by the experts and the restoration of the position of Arab affairs adviser did not happen by accident, but they did coincide with a brief report on the recent elections results, especially, once again, the results of local elections.

The question which we will try to answer is this: What is the relationship between the results of the Knesset elections, the results of local elections and the uprising? In our effort to answer this question, we will, throughout this inquiry, take into consideration the background which fostered the growth of these changes which will be mentioned in our argument.

On the other hand, we will try to provide an answer to the following, second question. What is the standing of the political forces which emerged on the Israeli-Palestinian scene? Which political force led the Israeli government, as we stipulated previously, to turn its attention to Palestinians living in Israel?

As a preface to what will be discussed here, I would like to mention the following:

The controversy among Israeli Palestinians of different tendencies and opinions is both open and hidden. This controversy revolves around the methods which must be taken to change or solve the future and persistent problems of the Israeli Palestinian public. On the other hand, the implications and the upshot of this controversy shed light on another basic point: the extent to which Israeli Palestinians identify themselves as Palestinians, and the import and nature of that Palestinian identity.

Despite differences which are sometimes obvious and sometimes not, the view that the general concept of the strategy of the Palestinian struggle is for Israeli Palestinians to blend in Israel's civilian and political society is shared by RAKAH [New Communist List]; Darawishah, the Arab Democratic Party; the Arabs of MAPAM [United Workers Party]; and Labor [Ma'rakh]. That strategy could solve the problems which have been set forth; these are problems which pertain to the Israeli Palestinian public.

On the other hand, the Sons of the Village and the Islamic Movement reject that slogan as well as that solution or approach.

The Sons of the Village think that joining the general Palestinian struggle is the way to go, but the Islamic Movement thinks that the "Islamic solution" is the solution which must be pursued.

These two approaches are different; sometimes they are contradictory, especially in the considerations of those who are in power in Israel.

We will call the first approach the Israeli approach; advocates of this approach would turn the Arab masses, at least politically, into Israelis. We will call the second approach a pro-Palestinian approach, and that would turn the Arab masses into Palestinians.

The political implications of these two approaches are as follows: Advocates of the Israeli approach see their Palestinian identity, above all else, as an historic-cultural identity. They see their political, Palestinian identity, that is, their adherence to and involvement in the general Palestinian struggle, as something that is not strictly defined. To them, their political Palestinian identity manifests itself in their solidarity with the struggle. Unlike them, proponents of the pro-Palestinian approach see their Palestinian identity as a political and an historic-cultural identity. The Islamic Movement which favors that approach emphasizes the Islamic solution. Thus, the forms of solidarity are not just reciprocal. Instead, solidarity is an element in the general and total Palestinian struggle, or, in the case of the Islamic Movement, an element in the general and total Islamic Palestinian struggle.

### The Results of Knesset and Local Elections

The results of the Knesset elections did not bear out "the experts' assessments." If they indicate anything at all, the results of these elections indicate that the intifadah has not affected Israel's Palestinians. In fact, these results may even have indicated that Israeli Palestinians were not concerned at all with what was going on in the occupied West Bank and Gaza Strip.

What is even more extraordinary is that the Israeli Palestinians' approach to these elections was integrated with and corresponded to the Jewish Israeli approach to voting in Knesset elections. The intifadah did not affect them either, [except for the fact] that regressive religious parties, particularly SHAS, gained more influence and grew. Israelis are not as concerned about what are known as social problems as much as they are concerned about political problems, which are synonymous to and more readily recognized as the Palestinian question.

On that basis it may be said that instead of telling us about the problems of Israeli Palestinians and giving us some indication about their political and social consciousness, the outcome of the Knesset elections shows us, at least among Israeli Palestinians, what the Israeli Palestinian voter thinks of these elections.

The second point which must be taken into account as far as the Knesset elections are concerned is this: not all political forces and tendencies on the Israeli Palestinian scene participated in these elections. These forces and tendencies are the Sons of the Village and the Islamic Movement. In general, the status quo among the political forces remained almost unchanged after the election results, even though the Progressive Movement lost one seat and RAKAH suffered a relative loss.

By contrast, all political tendencies on the scene participated in the local elections.

What the Knesset elections and the local elections have had and still have in common are those lists of notables. From the political map one can see that the mode of voting which obligates people to vote for relatives—the family vote—is becoming progressively weaker. I wrote an article on this point, summarizing part of my thesis on anthropology, which is almost completed, for a master's degree from Haifa University. It was quoted by Saliba Khamis and appeared with his byline in a one-time bulletin entitled, "Earth Day," published by the Sons of the Village.

By contrast, voting on an organizational-ideological basis, which expresses the special national awareness of Israeli Palestinians, continues to grow and to replace the first mode. This does not mean that voting for relatives is disappearing; it rather means that this mode of voting is becoming secondary or, at most, is being subsumed into that aforementioned national consciousness. By

contrast, that mode of voting was used by the government in the past to stop effective political organizations which violated and opposed the government's strategy for the Israeli Palestinian public. In the past Israel's strategy for Israeli Palestinians had been strengthened by the fact that Israeli Palestinians were out of touch with the general Palestinian national consciousness as this was expressed by the Land Movement in the past and is being expressed now by the Sons of the Village.

By relying on the foregoing claims, it may be said that to understand the political tendencies of Israel's Palestinian public, one must first understand and analyze the different components of the political map as these manifest themselves in the results of local, not the Knesset elections.

The Islamic Movement emerged on the political scene for the first time as a broad, representative, influential force in the recent local elections.

On the other hand, although the Sons of the Village did compete previously in local elections and although they lost in Umm-al-Fahm, their traditional stronghold, they cropped up in different places, like Nazareth, al-Raynah and other places, where they had not appeared previously. Although the number of their representatives in local governments is small, compared, for example, with the number of officials who represent the Progressive Movement, that does not give us a proper indication of that group's real strength. It does not tell us how many voters vote for and support that group, not to mention the number of people who may be mobilized by the group and how effective they might be.

The Arab Democratic Party became a very small force; the Progressive Party was not able to increase its size; and those who are supported by Zionist parties made no gains to speak of.

In my opinion, it was what happened to RAKAH in the recent elections that induced those "experts" to make those assessments. New questions are being asked by all those who saw RAKAH as a political force capable of absorbing radicalism and advanced national consciousness and turning them into "a struggle for equality" or, in other words, blending Palestinians in Israel's general political and civilian society. Reference must also be made to the recent tension within RAKAH. The controversy in that party over "glasnost" is nothing more than a cover for starting another, more pressing controversy over RAKAH's actual practices—those that are now being pursued and those that must be pursued—and over the identity of RAKAH's Palestinian Arab members.

RAKAH's inability to absorb Palestinian radicalism and national Palestinian consciousness, which is changing and growing among Israeli Palestinians, has led to the

emergence of independent radical movements: the Sons of the Village, a movement which continues to grow and to spread, and the Islamic Movement, an effective force which continues to grow.

#### **Palestinians, Israelis, and the Intifadah**

Peace Day or Palestine Day occurred a short time after the Palestinian intifadah broke out. That was the only activist incident known to the Israeli Palestinian public. The authorities as well as the organizers of that day were stunned.

What had to be done after that day was to contain that "wrath" which was expressed by these masses. That wrath had to be turned into protests that were less action oriented or protests that were less violent or less radical. "Leaders of the Arab masses," chiefly Ahmad Abu-'Asabah, the former chief of the Jatt Village Council, promptly calmed people down, and from that point onward, all subsequent protests were nothing more than quiet demonstrations. The most recent such demonstration was one in Haifa to greet the ship carrying returning Palestinians. Thus, popular solidarity with residents of the occupied West Bank and Gaza Strip was limited to humanitarian aid, like sending them food and medication.

It may be said that the authorities managed to contain and close another avenue for the intifadah. That, undoubtedly, must have been unacceptable to the intifadah which could have had a radical effect on the entire situation in general and could have changed Israel's present relations with Palestinians in general.

This serves not only the interests of the authorities, but it also serves the interests of the "leaders of the Arab public." The fact that the support base for "Peace Day" or "Palestine Day" is becoming broader must have cost "leaders of the Arab public" the broad popular support they rely on which now favored radical elements like the Sons of the Village.

It may therefore be said that local election results represent one image and one side of "Peace Day" or "Palestine Day."

Just as the Israeli Palestinians' intifadah was deferred, the movement of radical forces into higher positions was also deferred, and that process was slowed down. The results of these elections were directly related to what happened on "Peace Day" or "Palestine Day."

The changes which were brought about by local election results had to bring about specific, radical changes within the traditional forces (RAKAH, the Progressive Movement and others) or within the so-called "leaders of the Arab public."



RAKAH itself began to feel those changes. In the recent Knesset elections, it emphasized another, intense approach toward certain sectors of Israeli society. All this was due to the negative image it now has among the Arab masses.

On the other hand, because RAKAH felt the intifadah had brought part of Israeli society closer to its program, it has been telling the Israeli Palestinian masses day in and day out that "the PLO adopted the party's program to solve the Palestinian problem." It has also been telling the Jewish public that "The Peace Now Movement has adopted RAKAH's political program to solve the Palestinian problem." There is disagreement about how truthful that claim is. There may be more wishful thinking here than anything else.

It has been noticed that RAKAH is making a big effort to become accepted among the Jewish public or sectors of that public as legitimate. It is doing that by circulating petitions signed by Jewish figures or by influencing relations between communist countries and Israel. The battle for Hashim Mahamid can even be seen as serving that tendency. Hashim Mahamid is a person who is popular with the media whose "magical" influence and presence are greater in the consciousness of Israeli Jews than in that of Israeli Palestinians.

Faced with all that RAKAH has not yet been able to find either a proper or an improper political tactic "to restore its authority" with the Israeli Palestinian public. It is only because of this authority that RAKAH had managed to survive and grow.

Colleagues from Tar'an, Tamrah, Kafr Manda !! and Umm al-Fahm voluntarily left the party's ranks in the wake of fundamental disputes with the party's leaders. People like Hanna Ibrahim and Saliba Khamis were among the prominent leaders who left the party's ranks. Their departure was accompanied by the loss of members and supporters, which became evident in the local election results.

The Progressive Party presented its organization as an alternative to RAKAH and failed.

The Sons of the Village also saw their organization as an alternative to RAKAH. However, the difference between that group and the Progressive Party is that feature which distinguishes the Sons of the Village from other groups. When the Sons of the Village saw that their main task was to make all the Arab masses adopt the pro-Palestinian approach which we explained previously, they presented their organization as the alternative to all political organizations for Israeli Palestinians.

In general, the public support base for the Sons of the Village is growing very slowly. This is due to the hostility imposed on that group by the authorities, and rightly so from their perspective. And yet, that group is broadening

its range. It has the ability to mobilize groups that are less radical than it is, and it can motivate them and make them carry out radical practices.

With its present size the Sons of the Village is unable to provide a program that can move beyond the Palestinian national consciousness; a program that is based on the notion that Israeli Palestinians have a direct relationship with what happens in Israeli society; and a program that can find one or more common frameworks which could provide an answer to these conditions. This is because the underlying premise for the Sons of the Village, at least this is what they claim it is, is not just a national principle. More than once the Sons of the Village claimed that Marxism or even Leninism was one of their ideological principles. But it is the Islamic Movement that emerges as a fundamental force which can bring about radical changes in Israel's Palestinian public. It is that movement which can develop a political, Palestinian approach that is Islamic, or it can promote Shaykh 'Abdallah Nimr Darwish's approach, an approach which I will call that of "developing an Islamic consciousness" when I deal with that point subsequently.

### The Islamic Movement

There are two sources for the general concept behind the Islamic Movement and its emergence. The first source is what happened in the midst of the Israeli Palestinian public. What happened in the midst of those Palestinians created new circumstances, which are:

1. Political forces which rely on family relationships were subsumed into the Palestinian national consciousness, and/or the approach to political obligations of this kind became negative. The term, family relationship, [in a political context] became synonymous to reactionary forces and Shin Bet collaborators. The latter are viewed by Israeli Palestinians as responsible for stirring disputes and conflicts and for keeping Israeli Palestinians backward.

2. Because of what was said in the first and more important part of this article, people sympathized and identified with the "village," which supplanted the family in their affections. Although economic and social conditions for some Israeli Palestinians did improve, the village (villages as well as towns) remained relatively backward in all areas: in industrialization, in the housing shortage, in health facilities, prosperity, and in other areas.

The second source for the general concept behind the Islamic Movement is the deep-seated ideology which has had a long and ancient history, namely, the Islamic religion. This Islamic Movement was encouraged by "victories" and by actions carried out by Muslims in Iran, Lebanon and Afghanistan.

The presence of such an ideology and message against a background of socio-economic conditions like those previously mentioned led the Islamic Movement to pursue the stratagem of "projects." All previous organizations had failed in using that stratagem.

The Islamic Movement succeeded in setting up projects in several locations. It set up projects like people's centers (the importance of the mosque as a people's center is not less than, and may even be more than the importance of a people's center); soccer tournaments; funds to help students; and other projects. The Islamic Movement thus created an alternative, not only to existing political organizations, but also to the local councils which have been partially paralyzed because of lean budgets and little government assistance.

The two main components of the Islamic Movement are the "projects" stratagem and the Islamic Solution. The various members of the Islamic Movement do not disagree about that.

The establishment of an Islamic state is the direct, mechanical meaning of "an Islamic solution." The difference which exists over that problem is hidden. The approach represented by 'Abdallah Nimr Darwish states that since Muslim Palestinians are citizens of a non-Muslim, Israeli state, demanding an Islamic state is beyond the capabilities of the Islamic Movement. Accordingly, the solution is to blend into state organizations as Muslims. In that sense "an Islamic solution" can be construed as a personal, individual solution, or what I call "the development of an Islamic consciousness." The most which can be accomplished by this approach is a solution on the village level (the village or city). The proponent of that approach also advocated voting in the Knesset elections.

There are elements, especially in Kafr Kanna, but not only there, which called upon Israeli Palestinians to refrain from supporting or even voting for any list. These elements as well as others believe that "the Islamic solution" is different from that proposed by Darwish. Their solution may be construed as a hope or a struggle to establish an Islamic state.

To summarize this point then one may say that the ideology is common, but it is being carried out in different ways. So far, the Islamic Movement has been able to preserve its unity. This hidden dispute, however, could turn into a matter of principle because this matter is the one which must indicate quite clearly how and by what means the Islamic Movement is to enter the general political field in Israel, not just among Muslim Arabs.

The Sons of the Village had a similar experience when one of that group's members, which later acquired the name, al-Ansar, joined the Progressive Movement for Peace and called for participating in the Knesset elections.

For radical organizations of this kind, the process of participating in the Knesset elections would be critical and crucial because according to the consciousness of Israeli Palestinians, voting in the Knesset elections would be, more than anything else, a self-serving act. Over the years the Israeli Palestinian public has come to understand that voting in the Knesset elections is non-effectual.

Making such a claim requires that a question be asked: If voting in the Knesset elections is non-effectual, why then is voter participation high, or why is it that voters' awareness that voting in Knesset elections is non-effectual is not manifested in the rate of voter participation in those elections?

Because answering such a question would require another article, the answer that will be given here will be brief and selective rather than comprehensive and analytical. Nevertheless, we will emphasize the following two points:

1. The awareness which has been mentioned does not necessarily cause people to refrain from voting. In most cases it causes them to vote in a manner that serves their own interests.

2. There is a noticeable decline in the rate of voter participation because most non-voters are those whose national consciousness has reached a certain level. These people are part of the public of these radical organizations.

These two points are critical for the approach represented by Darwish, the approach we called "the development of an Islamic consciousness."

To summarize, let us say that in addition to the government with its numerous methods, the political forces on the Israeli Palestinian scene are the Islamic Movement, RAKAH, the Progressive Movement, the Sons of the Village, and the Arab Democratic Party. These political forces may be listed under two camps. The first camp is that of those who favor the approach which thinks that the required solution lies in having Israeli Palestinians blend in Israel's civilian and political society. The second camp includes those who think the required solution lies in joining the Palestinian political struggle.

We saw that actions were taken to establish some kind of front for a struggle between the Progressive Movement, Darwish's Islamic Movement and the Arab Democratic Party. In addition, attempts were made by Ziyad to merge the Islamic Movement with the municipal coalition in Nazareth. This was followed by Boorstein's appeal to produce one list that the Progressive Movement, the Islamic Movement and RAKAH would share and use to run in the Histadrut elections.

It is possible that cooperation between these groups in one form or another will be officially established. Undoubtedly, however, such cooperation will not be official.

On the other hand, it would be difficult to expect the other side to develop "a front" or establish some kind of ongoing common action. If such common action will be taken, it will be in specific, material things like demonstrations, strikes and protests on material things.

Based on the existing situation as portrayed in this article, it would be natural for the government to support those who favor the Israeli approach which defeated "the notables" once and for all. But this is not the government's only alternative. As "the experts" have learned, it has been noticed that they are in the process of turning to this alternative. They are giving financial assistance to the budgets of local authorities since the intifadah persists because of specific, material problems such as paving streets, the sewage system, the creation of work facilities, and so on and so forth.

However, the shift from making such demands to making national ones is organically related to the general national Palestinian political struggle. A major effort would not be required to make that shift because those demands lie in the consciousness of Israeli Palestinians. The distance or space between making immediate, material demands and making national ones is very small. The question, however, still remains: how much time and in what form will these demands be made?

According to the present given facts, it would be difficult to believe that this tide of radicalism and national consciousness will stop. At best, it will be postponed. That is what the government's policy can accomplish. This is the nature of a pragmatic policy which cannot come up with radical solutions to problems.

#### **Shahal Comments on Solar Energy Agreement With Portugal**

TA0907174189 Jerusalem Radio in English  
1700 GMT 9 Jul 89

[Text] Energy Minister Shahal and Portugal's Energy Minister [title as heard] Luis Mira Amaral today signed the first energy agreement between the two countries. Shahal spelled out the importance of the accord to reporter Harley Braidman, starting with domestic heating:

[Begin recording] [Shahal] The importance is that this is the first agreement between Portugal and Israel. This is the first time that a member of the Cabinet from Portugal is visiting Israel. The third point is: We have a special interest in Portugal, it being similar in climate to Israel, similar in problems to Israel, and being a new member of the European market. We feel that it is very important to have cooperation instead of competition.

[Braidman] What is Israel likely to help Portugal in in the field of solar energy?

[Shahal] The minister of Portugal has asked us to send a team, and we are going to send a delegation which will consist of our scientists, and of industrialists who will visit Portugal and have a study to decide on the kind of cooperation in this field.

The other matters are the use of solar energy for agriculture and small communities. We have great achievements in that field. We are using solar energy in kibbutzim and moshavim.

We will have this cooperation, which will be assisted by funds from the EEC (European Economic Community), and I think Israel is going to benefit indirectly from money that will be contributed to research and development to advance energy questions benefiting both Portugal and Israel. [end recording]

#### **Gazans Petition UNRWA for Improved Services**

TA0407142989 Tel Aviv HA'ARETZ in Hebrew  
4 Jul 89 p 2

[Report by Ori Nir and Eytan Rabin]

[Excerpt] [Passage omitted] Almost all public figures and leaders of local organizations in the Gaza Strip yesterday presented a petition to (Georgio Jacquomali), the secretary general of the UN Relief and Works Agency [UNRWA], who is touring the territories.

The petition includes for the first time demands on infrastructure, such as water supplies and expanding water sources in the area, as well as demands linked to health and educational services, which come under the UNRWA mandate. It seems that including the demands for improved infrastructure, which is the responsibility of the Civil Administration in the region, is meant to show the desire of Gaza public figures to bypass the Civil Administration and to shake free of its authority. The petition's other demands include a request to increase food rations UNRWA supplies to the refugees and to improve and expand medical services, etc.

In the West Bank, the curfew on Bayt Sahur near Bethlehem continues, as does the wave of arrests of local activists, including leading public figures. The authorities began a wide-scale operation of punishment and detentions in that area on Sunday after shopkeepers decided collectively not to pay taxes in view of the heavy tax burden imposed on them and after the tax authorities confiscated a large quantity of merchandise and property from several shops. It was decided to arrest public figures in the area as part of the campaign.

The authorities plan to concentrate on this effort after months of detaining dozens of youths wanted by the Shin Bet (General Security Services) for violent actions. [passage omitted]

### Police Minorities Division Toughened by Intifadah

TA0607174189 Tel Aviv

YEDI'OTAHARONOTWeekendSup. in Hebrew 30 Jun 89

[Text] Even before the intifadah (uprising), the Jerusalem subdistrict police's minorities' division was considered one of the police's elite units. A small group of investigations, intelligence and detective personnel, all fluent in Arabic, embedded deep in the heart of the East Jerusalem scenery and the local mentality. A veil of secrecy covers the division's activities. Its personnel has been involved in the investigation of all of the major attacks perpetrated in Jerusalem and its environs: the case of Archbishop Cappucci; the case of Jojo Nidam, the Jew who cooperated in the scheme to detonate a car bomb in the middle of Jerusalem; the murder of cab driver David Kaspi, whose murderers came from the Shuafat refugee camp; the hand grenade attack against Givati brigade recruits two and half years ago; the car bomb that was dismantled a short time before its planned detonation in Mea She'arim; the murder of British tourist David Appleby in the Garden Tomb in East Jerusalem, and many other cases.

Some of the investigation files remain unsolved. In all these security cases, the work was carried out in cooperation with the General Security Service. In at least one case, the minorities' division paved the way to the solution." Singer states that "the beginning of the intifadah found minorities' division personnel, as well as the other intelligence elements, 'with their pants down.' According to intelligence officer Inspector Eli Yosef, 'until the intifadah, we did not need to be accompanied or protected by the Border Police in order to enter East Jerusalem neighborhoods. It was enough for us to appear in a neighborhood, in twos or threes, in order for people to cross over to the other side of the street. Today, the situation is different. They are unafraid; this includes everyone, especially children. Figures illustrate the effect of the intifadah more than anything else. Before the uprising, the average number of individuals arrested by the division stood at about 300 people per year. During the first year of the intifadah, 2,850 arrests on suspicion of disturbing the peace were made, and some 600 persons were arrested on suspicion of carrying out hostile terrorist activity. In the first four months of this year alone, the minorities' division arrested 868 residents of East Jerusalem. The main investigative burden falls upon the shoulders of the personnel of Inspector Isakar 'Aziz, investigations officer. 'Aziz, 39, the father of five, arrived at the division as part of the reinforcements sent in the initial days of the intifadah. 'Aziz said, 'I was told: Come for two or three days, until the riots stop. Since then I have been here. More than once I reached a situation in which I wanted to smash the face of a person being interrogated. How many times can you listen to a detainee say that a Palestinian state will be established upon the ruins of Israel?' Recently, a 17-year-old woman from Jenin who was hiding a knife in her clothes was arrested in the neighborhood of Romema. When she was

seated before a minorities' division interrogator, she said insolently: 'I came to murder Jews. I wanted to stab a soldier to death so that they would say that I died a martyr, and so that I could be buried as a heroine.' According to Aziz, 'in terms of confessing their deeds, these suspects make it easy for us. It is more difficult to get the names of their accomplices out of them.'" Singer adds that "the 'professionals' constitute the hard material. Some of them have received guidance from their friends, or from reading in training booklets distributed in the territories on how to hold out during interrogations. These are the toughest to crack.'" When Singer asked Superintendent Meir Shimon, head of the minorities' division, whether physical pressure is used against those under interrogation, he replied: "Many of those arrested who are brought to court for an extension of their detention claim that they were beaten while in interrogation. Many of them also display signs of violence. Later, it turns out that they asked their cellmates to beat them. This is the first lesson they learn in the detention facilities. The minorities' division is currently under the magnifying glass of attorneys, journalists and international organizations such as the Red Cross. We are the Jerusalem subdistrict police's showcase. An investigation is immediately launched following every complaint against a policeman. I do not know any policemen who are looking to create trouble for themselves."

### Press Reports Settler Activities 44230137

[Editorial Report] Jerusalem THE JERUSALEM POST in English on 19 May features an article on p 5 explaining settler security patrols. Such patrols have been organized by the IDF (Israel Defense Forces) to serve in the event of a surprise attack. The settlers are currently employing them to serve as additional security forces. The settlers are equipped with IDF radios and weapons, as well as private weapons. The 15 June issue of THE JERUSALEM POST reported on p 12 that the most advanced "vigilante" groups are in Kiryat Arba' and Hebron. The article adds that settler patrols have often failed to coordinate actions with the IDF.

HA'ARETZ in Hebrew on 26 May on p 5 reported new declarations issued by the previously declared State of Judea. The report states that the settlers are offering "Judean" security forces as an alternative to Israeli authorities. The settlers further declared: "Our aim is to accumulate materiel and the means to fight a war. We have no problems with using them."

THE JERUSALEM POST on 23 May on page 12 reported the formation of a new settler organization called "Hand to a Friend." The Group aids Arabs who have collaborated with Israeli security authorities. The article states that settler Avi Mishraqui claims that the Shin Bet (General Security Services) has declined to aid the collaborators. Approximately 100 collaborators have requested help getting medical care which they claim is

denied to them, and finding new shelter after their homes have been burned. Some settlers have tried to move the collaborators into Jewish settlements, though some Jewish residents have resisted such relocations.

## JORDAN

### Biographies of Newly Appointed Ministers

44040419 Jerusalem AL-NAHAR in Arabic  
30 Apr 89 p 9

[Article: "The New Jordanian Cabinet: a Brief Account"]

[Text]

#### Al-Sharif Zayd Ibn-Shakir, the Prime Minister

Al-Sharif Zayd Ibn-Shakir was born in Amman in 1934, and he was educated in that city's schools. In 1951 he received a secondary school certificate from Victoria College in Alexandria. He joined Sandhurst Military Academy in Britain in 1955, and in 1964 he joined the Command and General Staff College at Fort Leavenworth in the United States. In 1953 he enlisted in the Jordanian armed forces.

Between 1955 and 1957 he served as escort to the king, and between 1957 and 1958 he served as assistant military attache in Britain.

Al-Sharif Zayd Ibn-Shakir held several military positions including: commander of an armored troop; staff officer in the Joint Arab Command; military operations staff officer in the Jordanian general staff command; commander of the fourth company in the motorized First Infantry Battalion; assistant commander and later commander of the motorized Prince 'Abdallah First Battalion; commander of Armored Brigade Number 60 in the June War and in the Battle of al-Karamah; commander of the Royal Armored Corps; commander of the Third Royal Armored Division; assistant to the general staff commander-in-chief for operations; and general staff commander-in-chief. On 11 January 1976 he was appointed general commander of the Jordanian armed forces by royal decree.

In 1987 al-Sharif Zayd Ibn-Shakir was promoted General of the Army, and in December 1988 he was appointed chief of the Royal Hashemite Court.

Al-Sharif Zayd is a highly decorated man: he was the recipient of several Jordanian, Arab and international medals, including the al-Kawkab Medal First Class, the studded al-Nahdah Medal, and the al-Nahdah Medal First Class.

#### Sa'id Musa'idah, Deputy Prime Minister and Minister of Interior

Salim Musa'idah was born in Irbid in 1930. He has an academic degree in law and a certificate of specialization in general law, which he received in 1954.

He served in several government positions. First, he served as teacher in the Ministry of Education in 1949-1950. From 1955 to 1958 he served as investigator in the Bureau of Accounting. From 1958 to 1970 he served as judge in the Ministry of Justice. In 1970 he served as mayor of the capital, and in 1972 he served as undersecretary in the Ministry of Interior. In 1972, 1973 and 1974 he served as minister of justice. In 1973 he served as a member of Jordan's senate and as minister of finance. In 1978 he served as minister of the interior, and from 1980 to 1984 he served as minister of finance.

#### Tahir Al-Masri, Deputy Prime Minister for Economic Affairs

Tahir Nash'at al-Masri was born in Nabulus in 1942. He earned a secondary school certificate from al-Najah College in Nabulus in 1959 and a bachelor's degree in business from the University of Texas in the United States in 1965.

He served in several important positions including: assistant department head in the Central Bank between 1965 and 1973; member of Jordan's parliament in May 1973; minister of state for the affairs of the occupied land in June 1973; chief of the executive office for the affairs of the occupied land in June 1973. On 10 January 1984 Mr al-Masri was appointed minister of foreign affairs, and in April 1985 he was appointed minister of foreign affairs [again]. Mr al-Masri retired late in 1988.

#### Marwan Al-Qasim, Deputy Prime Minister and Minister of Foreign Affairs

Marwan Sidqi al-Qasim was born in Amman in 1938.

He earned a Bachelor's degree in political science from the University of Michigan in 1961 and a Master's degree in political science also from the University of Michigan in 1972. Mr al-Qasim earned a special certificate in political science from Columbia University.

He served in several positions including: member of Jordan's delegation to the United Nations in 1966; consul general for Jordan in New York from 1964 to 1966; general manager in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs from 1966 to 1967; secretary at the Jordanian Embassy in Beirut from 1967 to 1968; first secretary at the Jordanian Embassy in Washington from 1968 to 1972; special secretary to His Highness the Crown Prince from 1972 to 1974; secretary general of the Royal Hashemite Court from 1974 to 1976; minister of state for cabinet affairs from 1976 to 1979; and minister of state for foreign affairs from 1979 to 1980. In August 1980 he was appointed minister of foreign affairs. On 10 January

1984 he was appointed chief of the Hashemite Royal Court, and in December 1988 he was appointed deputy prime minister and minister of foreign affairs.

**Ibrahim Ayyub, Minister of Supply**

Mr Ibrahim Ya'qub Ayyub was born in al-Hisn in 1926. After completing his secondary school education in Amman in 1943, he earned a diploma in telecommunications from the British Royal Telecommunications Corps School in 1954. Afterwards, in 1961, he earned a certificate from the Command and General Staff College in the United States of America.

The most important positions he held were command and staff positions in the Jordanian armed forces from 1943 until 1961. He served as military attache at the Jordanian Embassy in Baghdad until 1965. Then he served as commander of the Royal Telecommunications Corps until 1973. He served as advisor to the Royal Hashemite Court until 1974, and from 1974 to 1976 he served as assistant chief of staff for management at the rank of staff major general. He served as minister of the interior for municipal and rural affairs from 1976 to 1980 and as minister of supply from 1980 to 1984 and from 1984 to April 1985.

**Dr 'Abd-Al-'Aziz Al-Khayyat, Minister of Religious Trusts**

Dr 'Abd-al-'Aziz al-Khayyat was born in Nabulus in 1923. He received the secondary school certificate from al-Salahiyah School in Nabulus in 1939. He earned a diploma from al-Shari'ah College at al-Azhar University in 1944, and in 1946 he earned a certificate of scholarship with a license to practice religious law. He earned an academic degree in Arabic literature and Semitic languages from Cairo [University] in 1947; and a doctorate with first class honors from al-Azhar University in 1969.

He held several positions including that of teacher in Irbid, in the College of Islamic Scholarship, and in the College of Queen Zayn al-Sharaf in Amman. He served as dean of al-Shari'ah College from the day it was established in the University of Jordan until November 1973. Since April 1985 he has been serving as minister of Religious Trusts, Islamic Affairs and Holy Places. Dr al-Khayyat has authored several books on Islam.

**Dr Zuhayr Milhis, Minister of Health and Social Development**

Dr Milhis was born in Amman in 1928. In 1947 he received a bachelor's degree in medicine, and in 1951 he earned a master's degree in medicine. He served as director of the Hospital for Internal Medicine in Amman in 1957. Between 1978 and 1980 he served as member of the Advisory National Council and as minister of health. He was appointed minister of health on 19 December 1988.

**Dr Hisham Muhammad Al-Khatib, Minister of Energy**

Dr Hisham al-Khatib was born in Acre in 1936. He has a bachelor's degree in electrical engineering which he earned in 1959; a master's degree in electrical engineering, which he earned in 1962; a bachelor's degree in economics, which he earned in 1967; and a doctorate in electrical engineering, which he earned in 1974.

Dr Hisham was appointed to several government positions where he served consecutively as chief engineer of the power company in Jerusalem Governorate from 1966 until 1974 and deputy general manager of the Jordanian Power Authority from 1974 to 1980. He was appointed general manager of the Jordanian Power Authority, and he served in that capacity until 1984. Then, he was appointed minister of energy and mineral resources, and he served in that position until 1989.

Dr Hisham al-Khatib wrote theoretical books, including one about the economics of electrical energy in Britain in 1978.

**Dr 'Abdallah Al-Nusur, Minister of Education**

Dr 'Abdallah al-Nusur was born in al-Salt in 1939. He earned a bachelor's degree in mathematics from the American University in Beirut. In 1965 he earned a master's degree in the management of scientific and cultural institutions from Wayne State University in Detroit, Michigan, in the United States. Then he received a doctorate in manpower planning from the Sorbonne.

Dr al-Nusur was appointed to several government positions in which he served consecutively. He was appointed managing director of the Royal Scientific Academy in 1971; deputy to Jordan's permanent representative in UNESCO in 1975; duty officer in UNESCO [United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization]'s Executive Council in 1976; deputy chief of the Arab states' group in UNESCO in 1977; general manager of the general budget Department in 1978; undersecretary of the Ministry of Finance in 1980; director of the general income tax [department] in 1981; and minister of planning.

**Nasir Al-Din Al-Asad, Minister of Higher Education**

Dr al-Asad was born in 'Aqabah on 14 December 1922. In 1947 he received a bachelor's degree in literature from Cairo University, and his rating was excellent. He earned a master's degree as well as a doctorate in literature from the same university in 1952 and 1955, respectively. He was rated very good in all degrees, but he was rated excellent in the doctorate.

Dr al-Asad held important positions in the Arab world and in Jordan. The most prominent of these positions might be that of chief of the University Students' Affairs Office in the Arab League; chief of the Education Branch

from 1954 to 1959; lecturer at the Institute of Arab Studies in Cairo; dean of the College of Literature and Education in the University of Libya from 1959 to 1961; assistant manager of the Cultural Department for Cultural Exchange Affairs in the Arab League; professor of Arabic literature and dean of the College of Literature at the University of Jordan from 1962 till 1966; and president of the University of Jordan from 6 February 1966 till 1 October 1968.

He was appointed Jordan's ambassador to Saudi Arabia, and he served in that capacity from 30 May 1977 to 30 May 1978. He was appointed president of the University of Jordan, and he served in that position from 1 June 1978 till 21 September 1980. On 22 September 1981 he was appointed president of the al-Bayt Family Foundation, and on 4 April 1985 he was appointed minister of higher education.

Dr al-Asad has been awarded the Medal of Independence First Class. He is the author of several books on literature and the Arabic language. He is also a member of several scientific, literary and social congresses.

#### **Yusuf Hamdan Al-Jabr, Minister of Municipalities**

He was born in Shafa Badran in 1937. In 1954 he enlisted in the Jordanian armed forces, moving gradually through the ranks until his graduation from the Military College in 1956. Then he joined the Jordanian General Staff College. He fought in the 1967 war and in the Battle of al-Karamah as well.

He served in the position of battalion commander and chief of the Jordanian military mission for training in the Sultanate of Oman. Then he served as brigade commander, as director of the office of the general command, director of military operations, division commander, and as Jordan's military attache in Pakistan until his retirement on 25 September 1986. At that time he was appointed adviser in His Highness Prince al-Hasan's office. On 4 October 1986 he was appointed minister of municipal, rural and environmental affairs, and on 19 December 1988 he assumed the position of minister of agriculture.

#### **Engineer Shafiq Zuwaydah, Minister of Public Works and Housing**

Engineer Zuwaydah was born in Madaba in 1935. He received a degree in civil engineering from Cairo University in 1960.

He earned a diploma in engineering from the University of Akron in the United States of America in 1964. He served as engineer in the secretariat of the capital from 1960 till 1969. After that he worked in the private sector. He also participated in several industrial, financial companies, and he served as director on the board of directors of the Housing Bank.

In 1978 he was appointed member of the Advisory National Council, and in 1984 he was appointed general manager of the Housing Organization. He served in that capacity until he received his minister's portfolio on 9 January 1988.

#### **Dr 'Awad Khalifat, Minister of Youth**

Dr 'Awad Khalifat was born in Wadi Musa in 1945. He received a doctorate in history from the University of London, and he held several academic positions including that of professor in the College of Literature at the University of Jordan; assistant dean of the College of Literature; chairman of the Department of History; and assistant secretary general for the Association of Arab Historians. He was appointed minister of Youth on 9 January 1988.

#### **Yanal Hikmat, Minister of Tourism**

Yanal 'Umar Hikmat was born in Amman in 1935. After completing his secondary school education in the schools of the capital, he enrolled in American universities. He started his career in 1957, serving in the diplomatic corps in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and in the Royal Hashemite Court as assistant to the chief of royal protocol. Then he served as chief of royal protocol until 1985. He was appointed minister of tourism in Prime Minister al-Rifa'i's government on 19 December 1988.

#### **Ibrahim 'Izz-Al-Din, Minister of State for Cabinet Affairs**

Ibrahim Yusuf 'Izz-al-Din was born in Beirut in 1934. He enrolled in the American University in Beirut, and he earned a bachelor's degree in political science in 1955. Since his graduation he has been working in three fields: the media, the diplomatic corps and management.

Among the most prominent positions he served in were those of press secretary to King Husayn in 1968 and undersecretary at the Ministry of Information in 1971. He served as Jordan's ambassador to Switzerland, to the Federal Republic of Germany, Britain and the United States of America from 1975 to 1985. From 1986 until the cabinet was formed he served as chief of the Civil Service Office.

#### **Dr 'Adnan Muhammad Badran, Minister of Agriculture**

Dr 'Adnan Muhammad Badran was born in Jarsh in 1935. He earned a bachelor's degree in science in 1959 from the University of Oklahoma in the United States of America. In 1961 he earned a master's degree in science from the University of Michigan in the United States, and in 1963 he earned a doctorate in the philosophy of science.

Dr Badran is the author of 29 scientific studies in the fields of biology, physiology, and organic chemistry. He held several government positions including dean of the College of Science at the University of Jordan in 1971 and president of al-Yarmuk University until 1986.

**Muhammad Salih Al-Kilani, Minister of Water and Irrigation**

Engineer Muhammad Salih al-Kilani was born in the subdistrict of Haifa in 1936. He completed his education in Cairo University's College of Engineering, and he earned a bachelor's degree in engineering in 1961. He started his career as an engineer by working in the power company in 1962, moving gradually through the ranks in several positions. He served as deputy director of the company's technical divisions, and from 1982 to 1984 he served as general manager of the Water and Sewage Authority. Then, he served as president of the Water Authority from 1983 until he resigned from his position in 1987.

**Nusuh Al-Majali, Minister of Culture and Information**

Mr Nusuh Salim al-Majali was born in al-Karak in 1942. He received his secondary school education in the capital's secondary schools. Then he enrolled in the University of Baghdad and in the University of Lebanon in Beirut. He earned a bachelor's degree in the English language in 1964. Then he served in the armed forces until 1973.

Mr al-Majali has broad experience in the media since he worked in that field for 16 years. He served as general manager of the Jordanian News Agency from 1973 to 1976 and as general manager of radio broadcasting from 1976 to 1985. From 1985 to 1988 he served as general manager of the Broadcasting and Television Corporation. In 1988 he served as secretary general at the Ministry of Information and then as adviser to his excellency the prime minister. Then he went to work as media adviser in the Royal Hashemite Court.

From 1985 to 1987 Mr al-Majali served as chairman of the board of directors of SAWT AL-SHA'B newspaper. He was elected chairman of the Association of Radio and Television Broadcasting in Arab Countries, and he served in that position from 1986 to 1988.

**Ziyad 'Annab, Minister of Industry and Trade**

Ziyad Radi 'Annab was born in al-Karak in 1927. He completed his secondary school education in Jordanian schools, and then he enrolled in the American University where he earned a bachelor's degree in economics in 1950. He started his professional career in 1951 as an employee in the Ministry of the National Economy where he served until 1966. Then he served as undersecretary of the Ministry of the National Economy. In 1966 he went to work as general manager of the Industrial Development Bank, and he continued to serve in that position until his appointment minister.

**Engineer Hikmat Al-Khammash, Minister of Transportation and Communications**

Engineer Hikmat al-Khammash was born in Nabulus in 1930. He completed his secondary school education in the schools of Nabulus, and then he enrolled in Baghdad University where he received a bachelor's degree in civil engineering in 1952. He started his professional career as an engineer in the Ministry of Public Works where he held several positions as he moved through the ranks. In 1970 he served as general inspector in the ministry, and in 1971 he became assistant to the secretary general of the capital. In 1972 and 1973 he served as undersecretary of the Ministry of Communications. Then in 1974 he became general manager of the Water and Sewage Authority. In 1975 he became general manager of the Telecommunications Corporation, and in 1976 he resigned from that position and started working for himself.

**Basil Jardanah, Minister of Finance**

Basil Jardanah was born in Amman in 1933. He is a 1956 graduate of the American University in Beirut.

After serving as executive director of the Central Bank, he assumed the position of undersecretary of the Ministry of Supply when that ministry was established, and he continued serving in that position until 1978. Then he took over the position of general manager of the Retirement Fund. In 1981 he served as secretary general of the National Council for Planning. Then he left that position and devoted himself to private practice.

**Ratib Al-Wazni, Minister of Justice**

Ratib Ahmad al-Wazni, the minister of justice, was born in Amman in 1934.

He continued his university education at Alexandria University, where he earned a bachelor's degree in law. After earning a master's degree in law from the University of London, he started his professional career in 1957 as public prosecutor in Hebron. He held various positions, moving up through the ranks until he became an appellate judge, an undersecretary of the ministry, a distinguished judge and a supreme jurist Mr al-Wazni retired in 1985 to devote himself to the practice of law.

**Dr Ziyad Fariz, Minister of Planning**

Dr Ziyad Muhammad Fariz was born in al-Salt in 1943. He completed his secondary school education in al-Husayn College in Amman in 1962. Then he enrolled in Baghdad University and earned a bachelor's degree in economics in 1966. From 1966 to 1973 he worked in the Central Bank as an economics researcher and as head of the Foreign Trade Division. From 1973 to 1974 he served as assistant to the manager of the Studies and Research Department in the Central Bank. Then he enrolled in the University of Kiel in Britain and earned a master's degree in economics in 1978. After that he



returned to Jordan where he worked in the Central Bank as a research consultant until 1982. Between 1982 and 1984 he worked as director of the Foreign Relations Department in the Central Bank, and from 1984 to 1989 he served as secretary general of the Ministry of Planning.

#### **Dr Jamal Al-Budur, Minister of Labor**

Dr Jamal al-Budur was born in al-Tafilah in 1933. After completing his secondary school education in Amman, he went abroad to complete his education and he received the following scientific degrees: A diploma in rural development planning from the American University in Beirut in 1951; a bachelor's degree in literature from Cairo University in 1957; a diploma in planning and management from Beirut in 1965; a master's degree in management from the University of Michigan in the United States in 1970; a doctorate in managing development from the University of California at Berkeley in 1987.

Career Experience: Teacher in the Ministry of Education from 1950 to 1953; Guidance counselor in the Ministry of Education from 1961 to 1964; Director of the Administrative Affairs Department in the Royal Scientific Academy from 1975 to 1985; Vice president for administrative affairs at the Royal Scientific Academy from 1985 until his appointment minister.

Dr al-Budur is married and has four children: two boys and two girls.

#### **Advocacy of Opposition Dismissed**

PM2606155789 London AL-SHARQ AL-AWSAT  
in Arabic 23 Jun 89 p 1

[Walid Najm report: "Syrian Official Source Tells AL-SHARQ AL-AWSAT: 'Damascus School' Ideas Do Not Concern Us"]

[Text] Damascus—A Syrian high-ranking official source has told AL-SHARQ AL-AWSAT that Dr Ra'iq al-Naquri's statements to AFP reflect only his own personal views and carry no party or government inclinations.

The source, who asked to remain anonymous, said when Syria wants to change a political line or position, it announces it through party and official figures and the official media, not through al-Naqri whose only capacity is his own personal capacity.

The day before yesterday, al-Naqri made statements to AFP, a summary of which was published yesterday by AL-SHARQ AL-AWSAT, calling for the emergence in Syria of an opposition that opposes the regime but not President Hafiz al-Asad.

It is worth mentioning here that Dr al-Naquri is one of the founders of a school of thought called "the Damascus Vital School," consisting of researchers and intellectuals advocating what is known as "vital logic" on which the ideas of the kind of opposition al-Naquri calls for are based.

### **MOROCCO**

#### **Opposition Parties Prepare for Election**

45040377 London AL-MAJALLAH  
in Arabic 13 Jun 89 p 32

[Article by 'Ali Anuzla: "16 Moroccan Parties Prepare for Elections, Opposition Unites, Unemployment Focus of Concerns"]

[Text] With the onset of the second session in the Moroccan Parliament, Moroccan political life has begun to enter a new stage of activity and movement. This session has been marked by debates between opposition parties and government. Breaking with their habit, some parts of the opposition have resorted to leveling criticisms about the general economic situation in Morocco.

Outside of Parliament, the opposition parties and the government coalition have continued holding their provincial conferences and preparing to stage their general conventions. Meanwhile, the Socialist Union of Popular Forces [USFP] (opposition) has ended the work of its general convention. These preparations by the parties enter into the framework of preparation for elections in the summer of 1990.

Moroccan authorities are preparing for the elections by introducing a number of changes in the current commune apportionment. The Moroccan monarch has in this regard appointed a national committee charged with studying and reviewing the apportionment of constituencies in the municipal and individual councils. The committee will discuss the apportionment schemes submitted to it.

The current apportionment goes back to 1959. To date, only insignificant changes have been made to it, after Morocco's regaining of [Western] Sahara. The number of communes has risen from 859 to 19,559 [as published]—an increase of over 80 percent. The number of municipalities has risen from 59 to 1,964. Independent arrondissements have risen from 40 to 105, and rural communes from 760 to 1,290.

Under the anticipated change, a commune's average number of residents will decrease from 24,000 to 13,000 and its area from 829 to 517 square km. This means an increase in the number of communes and in nominations for commune elections.

At the level of political party circles, preparations for the coming elections have begun with announcements by the parties of their programs in their provincial conferences.

The USFP held its fifth general convention for the purpose of internal housekeeping, after disagreements raged within the party concerning the old political bureau's mismanagement. The strength of these rumors was increased when the party ended its convention without appointing its political bureau. However, these doubts were dispelled when the party appointed the new political bureau. The number of its members was raised from 9 to 13. A party official told AL-MAJALLAH that this step came as a result of the broadening of the party's base and after the convention's decision to abolish the administrative committee.

At the same time, the Istiqlal Party (opposition) held its general convention. The Constitutional Union [UC] (majority) is continuing to hold its provincial conferences in preparation for its general convention this June.

The Istiqlal Party is calling for confirmation of its lists, so that it can enter the coming elections with special strength. During its convention, the party concentrated on the crisis of graduates. It strongly criticized the government for mismanaging the unemployment crisis.

The UC is holding its provincial conferences under the slogan of localism. It is calling for liberalism and for a policy of transferring the public sector to the private sector. The party is striving to strengthen its internal structures in order to give itself new impetus after the general falling off within its ranks.

Except for the Party for Progress and Socialism [PPS] and the Organization of Popular Democratic Action [OADP], which occasionally organize cultural and political activities, the other political parties have had no activity outside of parliament.

As the date of the founding meeting of the Moroccan Organization for Human Rights approached, the political parties tried to spread their influence over that new organization, and party calculations rose to the surface among the traditional parties. For the first time, a degree of rapprochement about the question of human rights in Morocco could be seen between the parties and a fledgling party that has appeared in the last 10 years, the National Union of Independents [RNI]. This party (majority) has worked together with another party in the opposition to form the membership of the organization's executive bureau.

The human rights question has always been a source of conflict between political parties in Morocco, particularly among those to be found in the opposition. The new organization has been able to draw the limelight away from two other organizations—the Human Rights Association, and the Moroccan League for Human Rights, which are close to the Istiqlal Party and the PPS—and the Bin 'Amr Group, which split from the political bureau of the Socialist Party in 1983.

Political party support for the leadership of the organization, which is also supported by the Socialist Party, heralded the return of the Independents Party to the front. This return was confirmed when Ahmad 'Usman, the top official in the Independents Party, demanded a responsible government, expressing outrage at favoritism and bribery in the Moroccan administration, and criticizing the position of elected bodies that yield to the domination of local authorities. 'Uthman indicated that his party's participation in the government was symbolic and that the party continued to express opposition within the government and the Chamber of Deputies.

Observers interpreted Ahmad 'Usman's statements (he holds the sensitive post of speaker of Parliament, and his party contributes five ministers to the government) as meaning that he wants to move away from the majority party and stand with the opposition in order to gain a degree of credibility recognized by the opposition.

#### Other Parties

As for the other parties, particularly those that can be classified among the silent minority, their activity is virtually nonexistent on the Moroccan political scene. They content themselves with publishing newspapers that speak in their name. These are distributed within their own party circles and within official circles. It should be mentioned that some people expect a return of the Popular Movement [MP], which played an important role in the past under the leadership of its chairman, Mahjoubi Aherdane.

Some independent newspapers have persistently published statements from party members demanding that a new convention be held and announcing their adherence to Aherdane's leadership.

Relations between the fledgling parties that appeared 10 years ago appear very limited, despite the similarity of their programs. Between the UC and the RNI, both of which are members of the parliamentary majority, there is no coordination. Even within one and the same party, a single vision is lacking. An example of this took place in the autumn session of parliament, when a majority deputy criticized the prime ministry's policy toward members of parliament—at a time when most members of the government belong to his party. Although the RNI belongs to the parliamentary majority, there is great disagreement within its ranks about the government's policy.

The parties of the opposition talk about possibilities for forming a united front based on a shared foundation regarding the most important issues. The Istiqlal and the USFP have tried to form a broad opposition front. To date, however, the attempt has been limited to coordination between the Istiqlal-allied General Union of Workers [UGTM] and the USFP-allied Democratic

Labor Confederation [CDT] and to coordination between their respective parliamentary groups, although this coordination has remained limited.

There are about 16 recognized Moroccan parties, a number which may increase with the approach of the coming elections. This phenomenon—the proliferation of parties during the election season—may be peculiarly Moroccan. It happened in the 1963 legislative elections, when the party known as the “Front to Defend Constitutional Institutions” was founded. It happened at the time of the commune and legislative elections on 12 November 1976 and at the time of the commune and legislative elections of 1983, during which a new party—the UC—was founded.

The most important thing to notice in these associations is their closeness to local authorities in the province in which they are to be found. Anyone who follows Moroccan political life will perceive that preparations for the coming elections have indeed begun. The problems of jobs and unemployment will be in the forefront of the problems and concerns of Moroccan voters, since there are more than 0.5 million unemployed in the cities of Morocco, including 400,000 graduates.

## SUDAN

### Presidency Acting Secretary General Appointed

LD0207090689 Omdurman Radio in Arabic  
0820 GMT 2 Jul 89

[Text] Dear listeners, here is a resolution by the Revolutionary Command Council for National Salvation:

In the name of God the compassionate and merciful, in the name of the people, and in the name of the Armed Forces,

The Command Council for National Salvation, having taken cognizance of resolution No. 1, issues the following resolution:

Resolution no. 2 for 1989: Brigadier General ‘Abd-al-Mun’im Zayn al-Abdin to be appointed acting secretary general of the presidency.

The acting secretary general will have to manage all the administrative work at the Presidency.

This is the order of the Command Council for National Salvation. The order is signed by me at the general command on 1 July 1989:

Lieutenant General ‘Umar Hasan Ahmad al-Bashir, chairman of the Command Council for National Salvation.

### Revolutionary Council Decree No. 2

LD3006121189 Omdurman Radio in Arabic  
1040 GMT 30 Jun 89

[Second constitutional decree]

[Text] In the name of God, the merciful, the compassionate.

Constitutional decree No. 2

The law on procedures for the transition of power.

In the name of God and the people. In the name of the Revolutionary Council, the following law is issued.

1. All parties and political formations are dissolved; their creation and activities are banned. Their properties are confiscated by the state.

2. Local and regional governments are dissolved and the power of those who occupy political positions in them becomes null and void.

3. All unions set up in accordance with any law are dissolved; this stays in force until an order is issued by a competent authority for their reformation.

4. The licenses of all nongovernmental press and information establishments are abolished until a license is issued by a competent authority.

5. The registration of all nonreligious societies and organizations registered in accordance with any law is abolished within a month of the date of this law, unless they were registered anew.

6. We declare by this a state of emergency all over Sudan.

Concerning the exercising of emergency powers, the chairman of the Revolutionary Council and all sides working with him:

It is permissible, in accordance with the emergency power, to issue orders or take measures on the following matters:

A. To appropriate land, goods, and things for the public good while preserving the right to compensate their owners.

B. To appropriate money, premises, goods, and things which are suspected of being the subject of law violation until inquiries are carried out or the courts consider the matter.

C. To ban or organize movement of persons, or their activities, or the movement of things and the means of transportation, and contact with any region at any time under any other condition.

D. Prohibiting the organization or the production of goods, carrying out services, transporting goods or things and storing them, limiting prices and means of interaction with them.

E. Entrusting individuals with any military or civilian service required for security, while preserving the right of payment for such service.

F. Ending the work of any civil servant and terminating any contract with any public service, while preserving the rights in the aftermath of the service or the delegation of power.

G. Arresting individuals who are suspected of harming political or economic security, while preserving the right of appeal to the Revolutionary Command.

4. [numeral as heard] In conformity with the state of emergency, the following is banned:

A. Showing any political opposition to the system of the revolution or national salvation.

B. Staging any collective stoppage of work without special permission, closing a shop, or purposely hampering the public works facilities, public or private production, and the progress of life.

C. Staging without special permission any meeting for political purposes in a public or private place.

7. Anyone who is in breach of or who resists the stipulations of this law will be imprisoned for no less than 2 years and no more than 10 years. He may also be fined. If the breach or the resistance is a conspiracy or a criminal participation with others, the verdict may be capital punishment. If the breach or the resistance is carried out by use of force, or arms, or military equipment, the verdict may be capital punishment and belongings may be seized.

8. The provisions of the law of punishments against agitation, conspiracy, participation, and public criminal responsibility are carried out on acts which are in conformity with this law.

The Council of the Revolutionary Command, or any one delegated by it, may constitute special courts in order to try anyone accused under this law. It can also determine the criminal regulations to be followed in the inquiry and the trial.

The provisions of this law may be carried out as from the date of their signing.

Issued and signed by the Council of the Revolutionary Command in Khartoum on 30 June 1989.

Staff Brigadier General 'Umar Hassan Ahmad al-Bashir, chairman of the Council of the Revolutionary Command.

#### **Revolutionary Command Council Sets Up 4 Committees**

NC0107200289 Cairo MENA in Arabic  
1933 GMT 1 Jul 89

[Text] The Sudanese Revolutionary Command Council has issued a decree establishing four committees. They are: a security and operations committee headed by Brigadier General al-Zubayr Muhammad Salih; an information committee headed by Colonel Sulayman Muhammad Sulayman; a political affairs committee headed by Brigadier General 'Uthman Muhammad Hasan; and an economic committee chaired by Colonel Salah-al-Din Muhammad Karrar. These committees will prepare reports according to their jurisdictions and submit them to the Revolutionary Command Council chairman.

#### **Decree Names Spokesman for Revolutionary Council**

LD0207134189 Omdurman Radio in Arabic  
1300 GMT 2 Jul 89

[Text] Decree No. 17 of 1989.

In the name of the people and the Armed Forces Revolutionary Command Council for National Salvation. In cognisance of item 5/2 of the constitutional decree of 1989, the following decree is issued.

Colonel Sulayman Muhammad Sulayman is appointed the official spokesman of the council as of today, 2 July, on the Revolutionary Command Council for National Salvation's order.

Issued under my signature at the headquarters of the Revolutionary Command Council for National Salvation on 2 July 1989, Lieutenant General 'Umar Hasan Ahmad al-Bashir, chairman of the Revolutionary Command Council for National Salvation.

#### **NIF Leader Calls for Union With Egypt, Condemns Peace Agreement**

45040388 Cairo AL-NUR in Arabic 14 Jun 89 p 3

[Interview with NIF Leader Hasan al-Turabi, by Hamzah Da'bas: "We Participated in Government With Aim of Uniting Ranks, Left It After It Ignored Implementation of Shari'ah"; in Khartoum; date not given]

[Excerpts] [Passage omitted] I had already met Dr Hasan al-Turabi during an official visit he had made to Egypt. Now we were meeting at his home in Khartoum in connection with meetings of the Islamic Call Organization in which I participated, along with many religious scholars and opinion leaders in the Islamic world.

Naturally, our conversation branched into many subjects. The most important of these were the reasons for the NIF [National Islamic Front]'s leaving the government coalition in which it had participated with the Ummah Party, its return to the opposition benches in the Constituent Assembly (Parliament), the issue of truce with the Southern rebels led by John Garang, and relations with Egypt.

These issues on the Sudanese scene reach us here in Egypt through information channels of suspect sincerity. I was therefore very eager to obtain the NIF's opinion on these issues from its leader. This was the interview.

[AL-NUR] During his meeting with us, Mr al-Sadiq al-Mahdi told us that circumstances around him had forced him to ask you to consider postponing Islamic Shari'ah law until these circumstances had ended, but that you refused.

[Al-Turabi] Yes, that is correct. Many Ummah Party members appreciated the things we were defending, but they said that they had been forced in the matter and that their arms had been twisted. We do not accept the principle that the government in which the people have put their trust should yield and accept pressures displeasing to God and to the Sudanese people. We did not agree to surrender to these pressures.

[AL-NUR] During his meeting with us, Mr al-Sadiq al-Mahdi added that he had persistently announced that there was a brick missing from the government edifice and that he was calling on the NIF to return to the government because it was that brick.

[Al-Turabi] The NIF's concern is not power. It entered the government to implement the Shari'ah. Now that people have abandoned the Shari'ah and surrendered to foreign pressures, the NIF's position is that it should stay away from the government, which feels misgivings about the course it is taking and is divided in mind and spirit. If the government changes its mind, it will find the people ready to defend the Sudan; but if it surrenders to the spirit of softness, while the enemy seizes city after city every day, we fear that we may lose our ability to chose; indeed, I fear we may lose our country.

[AL-NUR] We have been very worried about the Sudanese NIF and have wanted to reassure ourselves of its welfare after the move from government to opposition. We want to ask whether these changes have affected the NIF's welfare and relations between its elements.

[Al-Turabi] Not at all. NIF members never were as united about anything as about leaving the government, although the NIF had disagreed when entering it.

The NIF entered the government coalition by a majority, but left by unanimous consensus.

The NIF's elements consist of intellectuals and religious people. They are not greatly interested in the inducements or intimidations of power. The Sudanese people now realize that the Sudanese Government has been unable to provide transportation and communication services. They know the government's inability to undertake the task of defending the Sudan. The NIF is therefore welcome with the Sudanese people, by God's grace.

We are now in the process of laying the foundation for the call and building a new Islamic model. We want to build up this people on the basis of honesty, not on the inducements and intimidations of power.

When we entered the government, the idea was that we would participate in governing in order that people not desiring the will of God and the welfare of the people would not enter instead of us. [passage omitted]

[AL-NUR] Has the NIF taken new steps to implement Islamic Shari'ah, following the failure of the experiment with the government?

[Al-Turabi] With its downtrodden existence, it is difficult for the Sudan to make even a limited effort to implement Islamic Shari'ah, given the open diplomatic and political pressures against the Sudan's identity. Nevertheless, there are some tribes that are fighting to restore the Sudan's honor. We do not, however, want tribal or ethnic warfare. We want it to be jihad. Jihad is directed against forces that bear arms.

#### Issue of the South

[AL-NUR] We have now become close to the southern problem and its developments, but we want you to throw light on its most recent developments.

[Al-Turabi] The problem of the South has been with us for some time. It used to be confined to the distribution of resources between North and South. We wanted to conclude a deal whereby we would satisfy the needs of southerners and unite the ranks of the Sudan, but factors came in that had nothing to do with our policy. In the past, the churches monopolized education. Later, the government organized education and made it compulsory for everyone. But they became angry and tried to incite rebellion. That is how John Garang ties in. Now, many southern Sudanese go to Cuba and receive an ideological education. They came from the Ethiopian and sometimes from the Kenyan border. Finally, the West came to give them supplies openly. Even the United Nations has established a program more than 80 percent of which has been directed toward territory controlled by John Garang. They are helping him solve his military problems.

We are not accusing the United Nations or the Red Cross. There are, however, certain organizations that have turned to buying Garang arms from the West. Israel has brought weapons in through Kenya—weapons that almost form a large force.

#### From East and West

[AL-NUR] What kind of weapons are they? What country manufactures these Israeli weapons that have reached Garang?

[Al-Turabi] The inscription on some of these boxes of weapons says that they are from Egyptian sources. Perhaps Israel captured them during its war with Egypt. Some of them are Eastern weapons; others are Western.

[AL-NUR] Is this perhaps what has made some people believe that Egypt is arming John Garang?

[Al-Turabi] Egypt had a role in the peace agreement. Egypt should have carried on discussion with all the Sudanese parties, rather than appearing to be working in the interest of a single party. The agreement came out looking like an attack on Islamic Shari'ah and on the Sudan's Islamic and Arab identity, after it demanded the cancellation of agreements with the Arab states.

[AL-NUR] Has al-Sadiq al-Mahdi perhaps announced that he has dissociated himself from the agreement with John Garang?

[Al-Turabi] The agreement came by a law; it should be cancelled by a law.

As for Egyptian-Sudanese relations, I know of no reason for this estrangement. In particular, the Sudan's foreign policy has currently moved toward isolation, at a time when we are most in need of unity in the Arab ranks.

[AL-NUR] At home and abroad, personal relationships between presidents have clearly come to influence the size and gravity of these problems. But we want to connect what is happening in the Sudanese South with what is happening in the region around us.

[Al-Turabi] The Sudan, of course, is located in a region whose conditions are interwoven. Colonialism entered the Sudan from the south. When communism wanted to enter, it came from the African regions. In both cases, Islam was the Sudan's protective bulwark.

It is a conflict connected with what is happening in other African countries.

The NIF has therefore striven to purify relations with the Arab and Islamic world. We have made official visits to Yemen, Egypt, and Libya, as well as to Uganda and Chad. We want to lay a firm foundation for this unity between Arabs and Africans against any Western forces.

#### Egypt's Position

[AL-NUR] We would like to learn about Egypt's position and what it should be on Sudanese issues.

[Al-Turabi] The Egyptian-Sudanese dialogue is not frank. If you sit down with the Sudanese in their private gatherings, you will find them censuring Egypt. But they do not speak it openly, because they do not want it to be used as material for tension with Egypt. A degree of honesty is needed in the dialogue. Dozens of conferences are held; yet media contact remains limited.

Information in both countries is taken from news agencies that distort this information.

Egypt and the Sudan are a political, social, and historical unity. How I would like to see the artificially established borders between Egypt and the Sudan lifted! Population logic demands the unification of Egypt and the Sudan. Egypt is threatened by population; the Sudan is threatened by lack of productive workers. The Sudan is threatened in its identity; Egypt is firmly grounded in its Arab-Islamic cultural identity. We do not know how Egypt can extend the hand of special relationship to Iraq and Jordan, for example, and not extend it to the Sudan, when the history and danger are the same.

[AL-NUR] Does that mean you seek a federal union between Egypt and the Sudan?

[Al-Turabi] People no longer have confidence in attempts at union, despite the old talk about Arab unity. Nevertheless, efforts must be made to achieve a federal union between Egypt and the Sudan.

We want Egyptian faces to return again, so that relations between the two countries are strengthened. However, we do not want Egypt's entry into the Sudan to be like that of some other countries. We want Egypt to arrive in the Sudan by way of the Sudanese people as a whole, who harbor feelings of affection for Egypt and its people and who are preceptive. The relation should not be at the official, diplomatic level, which, in our Arab reality, is overlaid with turbidity and where passions prevail.

[AL-NUR] What do you suggest to the Egyptian people, so that we can restore Egyptian-Sudanese relations to their best state?

[Al-Turabi] Before the model of the territorial state with fixed borders was imposed on us, the Abode of Islam was one, despite whatever disagreements existed between rulers.

People used to say that so-and-so was born in one country, married in another, and died in a third. We want you to say to the Egyptian people that the support of their life can only be found with the peoples that are around them and that the people most closely related to them are the Sudanese people.

We say that the Sudan's land has room for millions of Egyptians that it needs.

[AL-NUR] Sudanese laws don't prohibit Egyptians from working in Sudanese territory?

[Al-Turabi] Not at all. The land is enough for the Sudan and Egypt and equal to both. Sudanese territory is too spacious for the government to curb it with restrictions. The investor who comes in his official capacity may take what he wants. However, we do not want the investor who is in a hurry; we want someone who will invest his money for the sake of values. Afterwards, he will receive a material return.

#### **Chief of Staff, Deputies Appointed**

*LD0107182589 Omdurman Radio in Arabic*  
1620 GMT 01 Jul 89

[Text] In the name of the people and the Armed Forces. The Revolutionary Command Council for National Salvation decree No. 8 on the appointment of the command body of the Armed Forces. In cognizance of the first constitutional decree of 1989 and the stipulations of the People's Armed Forces Law of 1986, I issue the following decree.

The following officers will be appointed to the posts specified against their names:

Major General Ishaq Ibrahim Umar Chief of Staff

Major General Hassan 'Abd-al-Rahman 'Ali Deputy Chief of Staff, Operations

Major General Hasan Muhammad Hasan 'Allam Deputy Chief of Staff, Administration

Major General Ibrahim Sulayman Hasan Deputy Chief of Staff, supplies

Issued on the order of the Revolutionary Command Council for National Salvation, under my signature, at the headquarters of the Revolutionary Command Council for National Salvation, on 1 July 1989.

Lieutenant General 'Umar Hasan Ahmad al-Bashir, chairman of the Revolutionary Command Council for National Salvation.

#### **Army Officers Appointed to Military Posts**

*LD0107171189 Omdurman Radio in English*  
1525 GMT 1 Jul 89

[Text] The Revolutionary Command Council for National Salvation made the following appointments, effective from 30 June 1989:

Major General Muhammad Uthman al-Fadil, acting commander of the air defense forces;

Maj Gen al-Khayr 'Abd-al-Jalil al-Musharraf, director of the Infantry Institute;

Maj Gen Hamzah Qasim Musa, director of public depots;

Maj Gen Abbas Yusuf Ahmad al-Badri, acting commander of the air forces;

Maj Gen Ahmad Babih al-Hasan, director of the Military Works Administration;

Brigadier General Salah Abdallah Mahmud al-Dawi, acting commander of the paratroop 9th division; Brig Gen Mirghani Yasin Babakir, acting commander of the armored 7th division;

Brig Gen Muhammad Ahmad Ibrahim, acting commander of the 9th division engineers;

Brig Gen Khalafallah Hasan Ahmad, acting director of the administration of transport and supply;

Brig Gen Muhammad Umar Muhammad Ibrahim, acting director of the signal corps administration;

Brig Gen Ishaq Adam 'Ali, acting commander of the military college;

Brig Gen Muhammad Ahmad Mustafa, acting director of military intelligence.

## BANGLADESH

### Opposition Attacks Move To Amend Constitution

BK0807095089 Hong Kong AFP in English  
0923 GMT 8 Jul 89

[Text] Dhaka, July 8 (AFP)—Leading Bangladeshi opposition parties have criticised a proposed government bill limiting the number of presidential terms, calling it a step to "prolong the rule" of President Hussain Muhammad Ershad.

The Bangladesh Nationalist Party (BNP) of Begum Khaleda Zia said that the proposed constitutional amendment, entered in parliament Thursday, was "only a ploy to prolong the rule of the present government."

The BNP's secretary-general, Salam Talukder, said in a statement that the present regime was "illegal" and that it had no right to amend the country's constitution.

Gen Ershad came to power in a 1982 bloodless coup.

Kamal Hossain, a former foreign minister and a top leader of the opposition Awami League of Sheikh Hasina Wajed, opposed the amendment saying that "the hasty imposition of the bill suddenly produced like a rabbit from a magician's hat, shows contempt for the people, the constitution and democracy."

Mr Hossain, a barrister, said the constitution could only be amended by the people's representatives in a duly elected parliament.

He said that the move was against the demand for a parliamentary form of government, which had overwhelming popular support.

The ninth amendment bill, which needs two-thirds support of the 300-member parliament for passage, would limit the election of a president to two five-year terms and allow for presidential polls after the expiry of each term.

The bill also proposes simultaneous election of a president and vice-president. Under the current system, the president appoints the vice-president.

Opposition parties, including the BNP and the Awami League, boycotted the March 1988 parliamentary elections, saying the event was a "farce" and that no "fair polls" were possible under the regime of General Ershad.

Gen Ershad has shunned opposition claims and called for a negotiated settlement to "strengthen democracy" in the country. His ruling Jatiya Party (JT) has a two-thirds parliamentary majority.

Gen Ershad was elected in October 1986 to a term expiring in 1991. The bill would permit him to run for another five-year term, which critics said would give him nearly 15 years in power.

But supporters said the president showed "magnanimity" by limiting his possible rule through 1996, as the constitution, which calls for direct election by universal suffrage, contains no limit on presidential tenure.

After Prime Minister Moudud Ahmed offered the bill, the official BSS news agency quoted Gen Ershad as saying that the amendment would make "considerable contributions in establishing democracy on a firm foundation."

He said neither he nor his seven-year-old government wished to perpetuate in power and that he wanted to see the democratic process and the constitution work smoothly in Bangladesh, according to BSS.

Several smaller opposition parties criticised the bill, saying that people would not accept the amendment as it was irrelevant to democratic rule.

"It will only help the government to use it as an instrument to achieve its political blueprint," a group of leftist parties was quoted Saturday as saying, without elaboration.

But Shah Moazzem Hossain, a deputy prime minister and secretary general of the JT, defended the bill as "yet another bold step" by Gen Ershad and urged the opposition not to indulge in "useless criticism" against it.

The pro-government BANGLADESH TIMES said the bill was a "step aimed at preventing chaos and indiscipline" during transitional periods of governments.

The amendment "will democratize the highest political offices in the country," the TIMES said in an editorial, adding that it would be "a shield against any government, party or individual trying to remain in power without holding periodic elections in (the) future."

The mass-circulation DAINIK INQILAB supported the bill, but said "there was scope for discussions on the powers, tenure and jurisdiction" of an elected vice-president.

The bill's introduction came amid speculation here that Mr Ershad was planning to introduce a U.S.-style system, where the vice-president would be a running mate in a presidential election.

If passed, the bill would take effect no later than March 1, 1991, BSS said.



## INDIA

### Editorial Assails Janata Dal's Courtship of BJP 46070020

[Editorial report entitled: Not Every Agreement Has Value] Calcutta ANANDA BAZAR PATRIKA in Bengali of 19 June on page 4 reported that complications have arisen over the issue of distribution of seats in the election agreement between BJP [Bharatiya Janata Party] and Janata Dal. Objections to the BJP on the part of the opposition partners are threefold: First; the BJP prematurely announced their leader Atalbihari Bajpayee as a candidate for the Prime Ministership. Secondly, due to the understanding between BJP and Maharashtra's Shiv Sena. Thirdly, BJP's announced support of the Ram Janma Bhumi (Ram's birth place) side in the Ayodhya Ram Janma Bhumi- Babri Masjid dispute while other political parties are waiting for the court's decision on the matter. Having made these moves, does the BJP expect other opposition parties to accept them as a precondition for their cooperation? BJP's main goal, like that of the other opposition parties is to defeat the Congress (I). This requires unity in order to avoid splitting the vote among non-Congress parties. Thus BJP is sought by other parties and their cooperation with others is inevitable. Nevertheless, BJP's attitude is a go-it-alone one. In many circles of the opposition, there is fear that this will block their [election] strategy. A movement in this direction can only strengthen Congress by weakening the [opposition] parties. If the opposition's Rath [Chariot] is ground into the earth by differences of opinion, then will it be possible to advance by simply blowing their horn.

It is well known that Janata Dal leaders are anxious to establish agreements on distribution of seats with both BJP and the leftist parties. They do not wish to alienate either group. This would be a blow in the long run to opposition strength. Just as in certain states the leftists are comparatively strong, so the BJP is presently quite strong in the so-called Hindi-speaking area. Its not just a matter of maintaining both options, but one of preventing the splitting of vote amongst weakened parties resulting in losing [the elections]. Some may call this opportunistic, but in order to win the elections a special effort is necessary. Who will wear the victory garland of severed heads [If opposition parties do not cooperate]? For this reason the stubbornness which BJP exhibits has to be tolerated, to brand them as untouchable would be harmful to the self interests [of the opposition]. [passages omitted]

The leftists see BJP's stand on the previously mentioned issues as definite proof of the communalist attitude of BJP. They are not ready to cooperate [with BJP] because of this impression. Of course, this does not disturb BJP. The leftists have always had this impression. It is nothing new. There is no doubt that BJP's election strategy is a well thought out one. Leftists will always avoid BJP like poison to preserve their own image. Nevertheless, they

have no objection to unperceived support of BJP. BJP wants to appeal to Hindu voters and to attract their vote. This is why they have no objection to holding hands with Shiv Sena. Their goal is to increase their power in the parliament by forcing the Ram Janma Bhumi issue. This is possibly why the Prime Minister again and again labeled BJP communalist while in Calcutta. At the same time the severity of his tone was muted. This signifies that communalist attitudes have undergone a revival.

Needless to say, it would have been better if the present dispute over BJP had not arisen. Since it has though, it must be dealt with. It is noteworthy that because of BJP's ties with Shiv Sena in Maharashtra, there can be no agreement on division of election seats in the state. Viswanath Pratap Singh made this clear. Its not worth wasting time arguing this point. An understanding amongst Janata Dal's secular and non-communal partners has been reached on this point. The result will be to clear up [the picture of] national politics. Unity is necessary for winning the elections, but if the inclination to make compromise with just any group is not rejected, an awakened populace will one day throw these opportunistic factions by the wayside. This is no fantasy.

## IRAN

### Official Outlines Interior Ministry's Programs 46400089a Tehran ETTELA'AT in Persian 10 May 89 p 3

[Text] Social Service—Engineer Ardekanian, deputy for development and municipal service of the Interior Ministry, gave a press conference in which he explained this ministry's programs for the current year in the areas of war area reconstruction, equipping bus companies, budgets for the nation's municipalities and the Article 100 Municipalities and Metro Construction Commission.

According to our correspondent, he began by discussing measures by the Ministry of the Interior in urban reconstruction and development in the war-stricken areas. He said: Making use of Note 49 of the Budget Law, 4.5 billion rials have been allocated for urban development in the war-stricken provinces.

He added: Of this amount, 1.35 billion rials were allocated to Khuzestan Province, 855 million rials to Bakhtaran Province, 765 million rials to Ilam Province, 720 million rials to West Azarbaijan Province, 495 million rials to Kordestan Province, and 315 million rials to Lorestan Province.

Engineer Ardekanian discussed the allocation of foreign exchange for reconstruction and development in the war-stricken areas. He said: To carry out development projects in these areas, \$15 million in foreign exchange has also been allocated.

The deputy for development and municipal services of the Interior Ministry then said: With the prime minister's approval, a significant amount of foreign exchange has been allocated to replace municipal equipment destroyed during the imposed war.

With regard to equipping the Vahed Bus Company, Eng Ardekanian said: In the budget for 1368 [21 March 1989 - 20 March 1990] five billion rials have been set aside to buy buses and help with the expenses of the Tehran Bus Company, and the same amount has also been set aside for the Vahed Bus Companies throughout the country.

He added: In the first half of last year [21 March - 22 September 1988], \$22 million in foreign exchange was allocated to buy buses, and we hope that in the current year the 1,000 buses purchased will be put to use in the cities.

Regarding the same matter, Eng Ardekanian added: This year as well \$22 million in foreign exchange has been allocated to buy domestically-produced buses, and we anticipate that 450 busses will be made available to the Vahed Bus Company in the municipalities based on this foreign exchange share.

He added: Contract and purchasing employees serving the municipalities, who have had no formal status for the last ten years, will become official based on a regulation from the Council of Ministers, and new financial benefits will be given to all municipal employees.

The deputy minister of the interior for development and municipal services discussed progress in construction of the Tehran metro. He said: Even now 20 construction sites are in operation along two routes, north to south and east to west, that is from the beginning of Mirdamad Street to Behesht-e Zahra and Shahr-e Rey and from Dar-e Dasht of Tehranpars to Mehr Shahr-e Karaj.

He added: The length of these two metro lines is 90 kilometers, 20 of which are underground, the remainder above ground.

#### **Plan To Create New Rural Jobs Examined**

46400089c Tehran ETTELA'AT in Persian  
10 May 89 p 4

[Text] Tehran—ISLAMIC REPUBLIC NEWS AGENCY—800,000 jobs are expected to be created in rural areas in the next five years, and job opportunities in these areas will be provided for 200,000 persons per year.

Lahijanjan, deputy minister of the reconstruction crusade, announced the above yesterday at a meeting to study ways to employ combatants.

He said: After the acceptance of United Nations Security Council Resolution 598, close to 20,000 combatants and members of the mobilization have applied for employment, and we must give agreements in principle to this group.

He also discussed the employment of combatants in the agricultural sector. He said: According to estimates in the expansion plan for the next five years, there are 360,000 hectares of arable land, and if each five-hectare plot is allocated to a group, we can create 60,000 to 70,000 jobs in the next five years.

He noted: The existence of combatants cooperatives in the rural and war areas during the reconstruction period is a matter of great importance, and we must encourage the combatants to start these cooperatives.

Lahijanjan alluding to the sacrifices of the young combatants during the imposed war said: The officials must not hesitate or delay a moment to provide services to the young people who sacrificed and gave unsparingly of themselves during these years to keep the Islamic Republic of Iran from falling into the lap of imperialism and the enemy.

He added: It is necessary for the government to establish an organization to educate and guide the combatants for the purpose of employment, so that this group will be able to act with greater confidence.

The deputy minister of the reconstruction crusade alluding to the major role played by the rural combatants at the battle fronts said: Agricultural expansion can be an answer for the great group of rural youth who played a essential role at the battle fronts and in the revolution. The nation's rural and deprived and undeveloped areas must have priority in this regard.

He added that in many areas the fisheries can create employment for combatants.

According to this report, the meeting, which was held at Tehran's Hotel Esteghlal, went on to form eight specialist commissions charged with studying areas of employment for combatants.

#### **Damaged Fuel Tanker Repaired**

46000155a Tehran KAYHAN INTERNATIONAL  
in English 29 May 89 p 2

[Text] Tehran, May 28 (IRNA)—An air force Boeing 707 fuel tanker damaged in an Iraqi bombing of Shiraz airport, carried out its first test-flight Sunday after basic repairs by Iranian experts.

It was the third air force fuel tanker to be repaired and put into action by Iranian technicians at the Defense Ministry's aviation industries.

Air force commander, Brig. Gen. Iraj Sattari and other military officials witnessed the successful test-flight at Shiraz airport.

The plane was partly damaged in a September 1986 Iraqi air attack which also claimed the lives of several civilian passengers who were discharging from an Iran Air plane.

### Value of Non-Oil Exports Drops

46400086b Tehran RESALAT in Persian 25 Apr 89 p 7

[Text] Economic Division: Last year 1173 thousand tons of non-oil export goods worth 67,135 million rials (equivalent to \$971 million) were exported to foreign countries—which, compared to 1366 [21 March 1987 - 20 March 1988], have increased 1.6 percent in weight show a 13.5 percent decrease in value. (In 1987/88 the value of non-oil exports was 77,654 million rials equivalent to \$1,093 million.)

The four main export items ranking first to fourth in value are: Handwoven wool carpets weighing 7.5 thousand tons worth 21,387 million rials constituting 31.85 percent of the total value of exports. This item has suffered a 36.6 percent decrease in tonnage and a 35.5 percent decrease in value compared to a similar length of time during the preceding year.

Pistachio and shelled pistachio kernels constituting 20.76 percent of the total exports value, which compared to the preceding year's exports of the same goods shows an increase of 1.90 percent in weight and a 7.7 percent increase in value.

Varieties of skins weighing 12,000 tons and worth 4,760 million rials constituting 7.08 percent of the total value of exports. Compared to 1366, this item shows a decrease of 8.89 percent in weight and a 26.45 percent decrease in value.

Copper Bars—21,000 tons of anode and cathode copper worth 3,946 million rials constituting 5.87 percent of the total value of exports which, compared to the preceding year, has suffered a 20.97 percent decrease in weight and a 46.24 percent increase in value.

The four main export items mentioned above aggregate constitute 65.56 percent of the total value of exports.

Dried fruits constitute an export item which from the viewpoint of weight and value constitutes 10.38 percent and 23.5 percent of the total exports during the length of time under survey. Pistachio and shelled pistachio kernels among this group of export items weighing 56,000 tons and worth 13,937 million rials show an increase of 1.9 percent in weight and an increase of 7.7 percent in value compared to a similar period of time in 1366.

Raisins, green raisins, and currants weighing 25,000 tons and worth 1,341 million rials have suffered a decrease of 31.4 percent and 21.8 percent in weight and value respectively compared to the same length of time in 1366.

Dried apricots weighing 4.5 thousand tons and worth 369 million rials is another export item which has had an increase of 77.2 percent in weight and 81.2 percent in value, compared to the same length of time in 1366.

Marine resources constitute another group of export items which includes 265 tons of caviar worth 2,854 million rials representing 4.25 percent of the total value of exports and showing increases of 70.9 percent and 62.5 percent in weight and value respectively as compared to 1366.

Fresh and salted shrimps amounting to 560 tons worth 282 million rials have had an outstanding increase of 396.4 percent in weight and 280 percent in value over the preceding year.

Fresh, frozen, and smoked fish weighing 1.6 thousand tons and worth 162 million rials were exported during the said period, which compared to the preceding year, demonstrates a decrease of 72.4 percent in value despite an increase of 308.9 percent in weight.

Varieties of intestines constitute another export item 968 tons of which worth 2,147 million rials were exported during the period surveyed, and has increased by 29.1 percent in weight and 69.4 percent in value over the preceding year.

The exports of 193,000 tons of fresh fruits and vegetables worth 1,548 million rials shows that the exports of fresh fruits dropped in weight and value by 9.9 percent and 47.5 percent respectively, while the exports of vegetables dropped by 15.5 percent and 7.6 percent respectively, compared to the exports of the same items during the preceding year.

The exports of 7.5 thousand tons of fresh and dried palm dates worth 433 million rials shows an increase of 13.8 percent in the weight and 11.5 percent in the value of the exports of this item.

Last year's exports of sulphur gave it the first place weight-wise in the overall exports of goods inasmuch as it allocated 22.96 percent of the total weight of exports to itself. Last year 269,000 tons of this item worth 2,025 million rials were exported marking an increase of 94.9 percent in weight and 97.3 percent in value, compared to the preceding year.

Although the exports of 295 tons of tricot clothes and fabrics worth 805 million rials has dropped in weight by 26.9 percent compared to 1366, it shows an 18.5 percent increase in value. Cotton fabrics weighing 1.2 thousand tons and worth 76 million rials were in the same group,

and though increased in weight by 169.7 percent compared to 1366, they actually suffered a 38.2 percent decrease in value. The other items in this group, i.e. woolen fabrics and synthetic fiber textiles suffered decreases in weight and value compared to the preceding year.

It should be noted that in 1367 [21 March 1988 - 20 March 1989] the customhouses of South Tehran, Mehrabad, and Kerman ranked first to third respectively from the viewpoint of the value of exported goods since 68.17 percent of the total value of exported goods passed through them, whereas 63.64 percent of the total weight of exported goods passed through the customhouse of Bandar Abbas.

### **Stock Market Activities Detailed**

46000157c Tehran KAYHAN INTERNATIONAL  
in English 14 Jun 89 p 6

[Text] Tehran, 13 Jun (Kayhan Int'l)—During the last quarter of 1367 (22 Dec - 20 Mar 1988), the volume of stock trade at Tehran's stock market topped Rls6.745 billion (\$96 million), the Persian daily Kayhan reported here, Tuesday.

The daily said that 1367's stock trade in Tehran had marked 9.4 percent increase in comparison with the previous year's figure for the same period.

According to a report released by Tehran's Stock Market Organization, the stocks of 31 productive firms were traded during the said period.

### **Future Plans To Include Tribal Welfare**

46000157b Tehran KAYHAN INTERNATIONAL  
in English 14 Jun 89 p 1

[Text] Tehran, 13 Jun (Kayhan Int'l)—Majlis Speaker Hojjatoleslam Akbar Hashemi Rafsanjani told a group of visiting tribesmen from Khuzestan Province Monday that henceforth extra attention will be paid to the neglected and deprived regions of the country.

Reports Tuesday quoted the public relations department of the Islamic Consultative Assembly as saying that the speaker made the comments when the nomads from the southern regions called on him to express condolences over the demise of Imam Khomeini.

Khuzestan Province is rich in oil and other natural resources but the tribal communities have not been given a fair deal and suffer due to weak coordination in the administration of tribal affairs.

"Surely one of our future programs is to give more attention to the deprived regions of our country. We shall look into (the problems) the areas where tribes are located and are mostly huge revenue earners for the state," the speaker noted.

Hojj. Rafsanjani, who also is the acting commander-in-chief of the armed forces continued to say that, "it is our duty" to give you back your last rights.

In another part of his address Rafsanjani told the guests that the lawmakers and other state officials are all aware that tribes are "among our best human assets and the most deprived" of the societies.

He believed the rights of the southern tribal folks was denied during the past regime, and admitted that problems exist due to the "lack of coordination" despite the existence of rich natural resources in the southern areas of the country.

Praising their efforts, sacrifices and loyalty to the Islamic state, the Parliament speaker hoped the Khuzestanians will continue to serve as 'devoted soldiers of Islam.'

During the session the tribal groups pledged their allegiance to the new leadership of Ayatollah Ali Khamene'i.

### **Electricity Production to Increase**

46000155c Tehran KAYHAN INTERNATIONAL  
in English 29 May 89 p 6

[Text] Tehran, May 28 (Kayhan Int'l)—Minister of Energy, Bijan Namdar Zanganeh said in the Gilan Province on Sunday that by the year 1998, Iran's power plants would generate over 100 billion kilowatts of electricity.

According to the Persian daily Kayhan, he said that during 1367 (March 21, 1988-March 20, 1989) over 45 billion kilowatts of electricity were generated by the countries' power plants.

Referring to implementation of joint projects between Iran and the USSR, Zanganeh said that the Ministry of Energy is ready to cooperate with the Soviet experts to find ways for preventing the further advancement of the Caspian Sea waters into the coastal regions.

He also said that two new dams would be constructed on Aras River (located between Iran and the USSR) by the joint cooperation of the two countries.

Meanwhile Dr. Maknon, the deputy minister of energy in charge of training and construction projects told the daily that the first Hydrology Seminar in Iran would be held at the technical faculty of the Tehran University from June 10-12, 1989.

**Construction of Shiraz-Isfahan Railway To Begin**  
46000155b Tehran KAYHAN INTERNATIONAL  
in English 29 May 89 p 6

[Text] Tehran, May 28 (Kayhan Int'l)—Minister of Road and Transportation Muhammad Saeedikia said in Shiraz, capital of the Fars Province, on Sunday that a project for construction of Shiraz-Isfahan railway will start during the current Iranian year (March 21, 1989-March 20, 1990).

In an exclusive interview with the Persian daily Kayhan, he said that the project would be carried out with total investment of Rls. 500m (\$7m).

He said that the ministry is planning to connect Shiraz to the southern coastal region of Iran through various ways.

Asked about the projects for reconstruction of Khorramshahr-Ahwaz bridge and Ahwaz-Khorramshahr railway, both in war devastated Khuzestan Province, he said that during the recent session of the Cabinet, it was decided to begin the work on both projects during the current Iranian year.

**Construction Jihad To Redevelop Villages**  
46000157a Tehran KAYHAN INTERNATIONAL  
in English 4 Jun 89 p 2

[Text] Tehran, 3 Jun (IRNA)—A plan to redevelop villages with more than 1,400 families will be implemented by the Ministry of Construction Jihad this year.

The ministry's first deputy, Rasoul Lahijanian said Saturday that plans for 600 of these villages had already been prepared.

He made the announcement prior to Construction Jihad Week when the 10-year record of activities by the revolutionary organization would be announced.

"Credits for rural areas have increased from 9 percent in pre-Islamic Revolution era to 19 percent after the victory of the revolution in 1979," Lahijanian said.

Speaking at a press conference, he said 65 percent of Iranian villages have been provided with electricity and 52 percent with drinking water during post-revolution period.

The figures were below 20 percent before 1979, he added.

He said the Construction Jihad Ministry had played a key role increasing land under cultivation and improving the level of production by increasing available water resources by 9 billion cubic meters.

The average output from a hectare of dry-irrigated land under wheat cultivation had thus risen from 500 kilos to 900 kilos.

To date, Lahijanian said, some 4,000 combatants and those disabled in the war and living in rural areas had applied to the ministry to receive facilities to start rural industries.

**Steel Production Up**  
46000156b Tehran KAYHAN INTERNATIONAL  
in English 28 May 89 p 6

[Text] Tabriz, East Azarbaijan, 27 May (IRNA)—Some 300,000 tons of corrugated iron, 300,000 tons of beams and more than 100,000 tons of gas pipelines will be annually produced by Iran's National Industrial Steel Group as of the next calendar year (starting 21 March 1990).

Production in the next five years at the unit, added the director general Wednesday, will increase to 1,300,000 tons per year.

The unit, he said, operated during the imposed war despite repeated Iraqi shellings and has been reconstructed without foreign help.

**Coal, Iron Ore Reserves Detailed**  
46000156a Tehran KAYHAN INTERNATIONAL  
in English 28 May 89 p 6

[Text] Tehran, 27 May (IRNA)—Industrial units consumed three million tons of concentrated metallic and non-metallic minerals last year, 11 percent more than the previous year, a senior official said Thursday.

"The figure is expected to reach 5.5 million tons by the end of the current calendar year (20 March 1990)," Mohammad Hussein Moqimi, deputy minister of mines and metals told a press conference.

Moqimi, also head of Iran's National Steel Company (INSC), said the country's proven coal reserves stood at 1,400 billion tons while another one billion tons was expected to be added in the near future.

He put Iran's proven iron ore reserves at 1.5 billion tons and estimated the country has another 600 million tons, while the proven and possible deposits of fireproof materials and manganese, he added stand at 35 million tons and 19 million tons respectively.

The official cited production of 1.4 million tons of iron beams and rods by the Nasr Steel Complex, and production of 180,000 tons of steel bars and opening of the 2nd and 3rd phases of the Ahvaz Steel Complex as among projects to be implemented by INSC by March 1990.

On INSC exploration activities, he named the Tabas Coal Project with estimated reserves of one billion tons and the Sangan Iron Ore Project with an estimated 300 million on reserves as examples.

The capacity of the Isfahan Steel Mill is to increase to four million tons a year, Moqimi added.

Some 42 companies operating under supervision of INSC are engaged in exploration and research projects involving 35,000 personnel, he concluded.

## NEPAL

### Former Premier Calls for End to Trade Conflict With India

BK2806090389 Kathmandu THE RISING NEPAL  
in English 15 Jun 89 pp 1, 7

[Text] Kathmandu, June 14 (RSS): Kirtinidhi Bista has said that Nepal is having to put up with a difficult situation because of the tensions that have surfaced recently in relations with India.

Inaugurating a one-day seminar here Wednesday [14 June] on Nepal-India relations organized by Nepal University Teachers Association, Mr. Bista said because of economic, cultural and geographical circumstances Nepal and India are actually bound up with one another.

Pointing out that the present crisis should not be taken lightly, he said it is not clear how things come to such a pass so suddenly.

Remarking that Nepal had not done anything to alienate India, he said, Nepal, a small sovereign state, has been playing a significant role in the world arena and in this context Nepal and India have their own proper view points on many an international issue. This was specially clear on the question of Afghanistan and Cambodia.

Recalling that Nepal and India in days gone by had been working hand in hand for mutual economic and social advancement, he said if it should come to tally of this bilateral cooperation, whatever cooperation India has provided Nepal, the cooperation extended in other direction has in fact been greater.

Nepal has helped India in many matters even when this meant inconvenience to itself, he said.

An India, rich in natural resources and strong militarily, can well play a positive role, he said.

Nepal has always reposed faith in peace and its clear view point and policy have been to tackle any problem through talks rather than give in to disputes and bickerings, he said.

It could be that the gains made by India in various areas, and the resources and military might at its command have rather gone to its head, Mr. Bista said, adding that without peace and stability cooperation is not possible.

Referring briefly to Indian action in Sri Lanka and the Maldives, the former prime minister said Nepal will never pose a security threat to India.

Military equipment brought by Nepal from China to replace obsolete equipment should not be looked upon as threatening by a powerful India armed with missiles, submarines, and fighter aircraft, he said, as Nepal harboured no ill against India.

At a time when the whole world is moving towards reconciliation, it was not reasonable for India to clamp down on the flow of essential goods to Nepal and on the movement of ordinary people, he said.

Citing examples from the international scene, Bista said that the wall between Australia and Hungary had been removed, steps were being taken to pull down the Berlin Wall and the Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev and West German chancellor Dr. Kohl had recently signed a joint declaration which would go a long way in promoting East-West relations.

India is bent on importing its will on Nepal but Nepal neither wanted nor could fight India, said the ex-premier. He stressed that Nepal wanted to cooperate with India and expected the same from India.

Nepal and India have had two separate treaties for trade and transit for the past eleven years, said the ex-premier and wanted to know why India now wanted one treaty.

Bista pointed out that India has now tried to obstruct things by raising various issues and stressed that if it was our head that India wanted this was unacceptable to us no matter what accounts we would otherwise have to settle and added that we should be constantly vigilant about this.

Bista further said that we should take a lesson from this crisis and work towards determining our own destiny.

India should play a more positive role in improving cooperation between the two countries, said Bista and further pointed out that it was not in India's interest to promote instability in this country.

Delving into the matter, the ex-premier said that India should frankly put forward any of its grievances and help dispel any misunderstanding through dialogue and expressed the hope and confidence that India will soon change its attitude towards Nepal.

Speaking on Nepal-China relations, the ex-premier said that there was no question of neglecting relations with an emerging world power like China. He further said that what Nepal received from China as cooperation was much more than what it had been able to give back.

He said that H.M.G. [His Majesty's Government] was doing its best to cope with the situation arising out of the present tension in Nepal-India relations which had created a serious situation in the country.

He appealed to the educated to help H.M.G. through constructive suggestions and by bringing awareness among the common people.

The inaugural ceremony of the symposium was held under the chairmanship of President of University Teachers Association of Nepal Dr. Chandra Prasad Gorkhali.

## PAKISTAN

### PPP Said To Break Its Promises on Budget Priorities

46000159d Islamabad THE MUSLIM  
in English 18 Jun 89 p 4

[Article by Omar Asghar Khan: "Some Thoughts on the Budget—1989-90"]

[Text] The budget proposals have been presented at a time when the country is experiencing an acute economic crisis, probably one of the most serious in the last forty years. The strains of the Afghan War in the form of the presence of 3.5 million refugees in Pakistan; a large drug economy, and the deteriorating law and order situation in Sindh, have added a serious geopolitical dimension to the socio-economic crisis confronting Pakistan. Furthermore, unprecedented load-shedding is resulting in large revenue and production losses.

As a result, unemployment, as well as the price hike have become serious economic problems for the government. Moreover, a large number of people in both the urban and rural areas do not have access to clean drinking water and health facilities, roads, bridges and telephone connections.

**Lost Opportunity:** It is in this context that the government has announced the budgetary proposals for the fiscal year 1989-90 but the steps announced by the government do not even get close to the root of the socio-economic problems confronting Pakistan. Obviously, it is not possible for the government to rectify all the economic ills that it has inherited from the past in a single budgetary year but it could move the economy in a direction that puts it on a sounder footing. Moreover, the present budget could have been an occasion to set the pace for bold initiatives to be taken in the much neglected socio-economic and infrastructural sectors.

**Centralisation of Decision Making:** For effective economic management, decentralisation is necessary. The present government has to a large extent centralised and bureaucratised the system of economic decision making. This is reflected in the Prime Minister holding the portfolio of Federal Finance Minister. As a consequence

a number of important economic decisions have been delayed. Moreover, the persons at the helm of affairs in the planning as well as the Finance ministers are those who have been responsible for policy making for the last forty years. They have the same bureaucratic approach and lack initiative and boldness. Their interests are tied with those of international funding agencies as well as the elites, be they big business or large feudal interests. Besides the bureaucracy's restrictive role, both the major parties in the National Assembly are burdened by the weight of the traditional land-owning elites and big business interests. The professional and the middle classes have no role to play whatsoever. It is no wonder then that the present budget reflects the interests of landlords, those industrialists who happen to be close to ruling parties and donors. In such circumstances, the budget can only be an instrument to carry forward traditional policies without a restructuring of the country's socio-economic structure.

**Tax Burden:** Notwithstanding the finance minister's elaborate taxation proposals in which he said that the tax burden would not be placed on the poor, an analysis of the budgetary proposals point to the contrary. Close to 84 percent of tax revenue during the fiscal year 1989-90 is to be collected by the government through indirect taxes mainly on essential commodities consumed by the poorer classes. The feudal elite has once again managed to exempt itself from being taxed and, therefore, the burden of direct taxes had to be borne by a tiny minority of professionals and the corporate sector.

There is no doubt a case for small farmers to be exempted from being taxed in a situation where costs of production are increasing while output prices have not increased in the same proportion. But big landlords owning thousands of acres of agricultural lands can well afford to pay taxes. However due to their influence in the government as well as in the assemblies, the governments in the provinces and Centre have opposed all suggestions to impose tax on agricultural land or produce.

**Inflationary Pressures:** Extending the sales tax to 44 items has obvious inflationary implications which will hit the common man who is already burdened with price increases. Most of the items on which sales tax has been levied at a flat rate of 12.5 percent are those used in construction, household consumption and industrial production. Besides these inflationary taxes, the government's reliance on bank borrowing to the tune of Rs. 4 billion would reduce the credit available with the banking sector to be advanced to the private sector. This would again hit the small borrower who already does not have access to credit, whether for agricultural industrial or other business investments.

The reliance on foreign assistance to finance development expenditure is not new in Pakistan but the present government had claimed that it would move the country

towards self reliance. The excessive dependence on foreign loans implies donor control and influence over economic decision making in the country.

**Lop-Sided Priorities:** The government's lop-sided priorities are reflected in the fact that out of a total expenditure of Rs. 223 billion, Rs. 567 billion have been set aside for the development budget. No attempt has been made to reduce non-development expenditure; defence and debt servicing alone amount close to Rs. 112 billion which is almost half the total development and non-development budget.

Thus it can be seen that due to the excessive non-development expenditure of government, little resources are left for infrastructural investment in transport, telephones, roads, electricity. In the social sectors hardly 2 percent of the total Federal budget has been set aside for health. The government has taken no initiative to change priorities in the provision of clean drinking water when close to 40 percent of all deaths from different diseases are due to water borne diseases. Moreover, close to 680 thousand children below the age of five years die every year because of diseases that are caused by unhygienic drinking water, lack of medical facilities and ignorance of preventive and curative health practices.

**Collapse of Social Services:** An example of the deterioration of medical facilities is reflected in the reduction in the budget of the nation's premier health institution—the National Institute of Health—at Islamabad, whose budget has been cut from Rs. 7 million two years ago, to Rupees 1.5 million for the current fiscal year. Similar cuts are being imposed on the health sector while health services are increasingly deteriorating with the consequence that access to health facilities is more and more becoming the privilege of the elite. Similarly, in the case of education, one finds that privatisation on the one hand with lack of facilities and proper teaching staff on the other in government institutions is taking education out of the reach of the poorer classes.

**Broken Promises:** It may be said that the present budget is very much a continuation of the past policies with no new initiatives. Moreover the government has taken no steps to fulfill the promises made in the manifesto of the Party, whether these relate to meeting the energy gap, provision of basic amenities and facilities to the people or combating unemployment.

The PPP [Pakistan People's Party] had made a number of radical promises in its pre-election manifesto regarding distribution of close to one crore acres of state land amongst the landless, exemption of small farmers from water charges, provision of basic health cover to the entire population, reinstatement of all those employees dismissed during martial law, participation of workers in the management of nationalised industries, fixing a

minimum wage for industrial workers and a commitment not to denationalise state enterprises. There is no indication in the budget that the government in the budget that the government is moving in the direction of fulfilling these promises.

### **Pakistan, ROK Agree To Further Promote Trade Ties**

*BK0507041289 Islamabad Radio in Urdu  
0200 GMT 5 Jul 89*

[Text] Prime Minister Benazir Bhutto has underscored the need for the establishment of Pakistan-South Korea joint ventures that will ensure the transfer of technology. During a meeting with the South Korean minister for trade and industry, Han Sang-Su, in Islamabad yesterday, the prime minister said the Republic of Korea has done praiseworthy work by establishing an economic cooperation fund in 1987, which, she hoped, will be a great help to developing countries.

Meanwhile, Pakistan and the ROK have agreed to further promote bilateral trade ties and to improve the balance of trade between the two countries. This was stated in a memorandum of understanding issued at the end of the first 2-day meeting of the trade ministers of the two countries in Islamabad.

### **MQM Criticized on Assembly Walkout**

*46000159a Islamabad THE MUSLIM  
in English 17 Jun 89 pp 4-5*

[Text] MPA [Member of Provisional Assembly]s belonging to the MQM [Muhajir Qaumi Movement] walked out of the Sindh Provincial Assembly in protest against the use of Sindhi for presenting the provincial budget. The MQM's parliamentary leader Tariq Javaid has said that for the first time in 41 years the budget was presented in Sindhi instead of Urdu. He made the point that if the PPP [Pakistan People's Party] despises Urdu to such a degree, it could easily have presented the budget in English. Delivering the ultimate blow he observed that the PPP had thereby violated the parliamentary conventions of the Sindh Assembly, and its action was tantamount to treason against Pakistan.

This is indeed a sorry performance on the part of public representatives. Such grave charges were not merited by the occasion. They are neither justified nor acceptable. To say that the use of Sindhi while presenting the budget in the Sindh Assembly amounts to treason betrays once again the unfortunate practice in the country's politics of labelling one's opponents as traitors without much thought—and on far from convincing grounds. When will we learn that using a provincial language which—let us not forget—is also part of our historical and cultural heritage can hardly be construed as being motivated by distaste for our national language Urdu. It is, in fact, precisely this kind of narrow and exclusivist approach to provincial languages that has led to their becoming a political issue. And certainly those who have been on the



forefront of this incomprehensible crusade have not served the cause of Urdu—which, if anything, has been rendered controversial as a result of their misguided efforts.

If a provincial language were being so employed in the National Assembly, the demand for using Urdu instead would have been understandable. But let us assume that the MQM representatives—though residents of Sindh—remain unfamiliar with the Sindhi language. And, therefore, being unable to follow the budget presentation, desired the use of Urdu (or English) instead. Indeed those who complained that translation in these two languages, specially Urdu, was not available in time were fully justified in doing so. But that is a far cry from the behavioural as well as the rhetorical content of the reaction of MQM representatives to the use of Sindhi in the Sindh Assembly.

**Free Press Seen Essential to Democracy**  
46000158a Karachi DAWN in English 16 Jun 89 p 7

[Article by Rifaat Hamid Ghani: "How Free Is the Press?"]

[Text] Though there are periodic debates as to whether democracy is really a suitable form of government in our context, there has never been any debate as to the suitability of a free Press. A man may repress it, but he has never been able to make out a case for what he is doing. Like democracy, the Press has often been disappointing. But the weaknesses and deviations of its functioning and functionaries have only made the actualities of the need for a free Press clearer.

Today, Ms Bhutto is able to assert that her government has allowed freedom of speech. This indeed is a prerequisite to a democratic system. It is perhaps more accurate to say that her government has had the wisdom not to withdraw the freedom of speech that had to accompany the political freedoms that made Election '88 and the honouring of its results possible. The Press served the democratic process that began after August 17'88 well. It gave full voice to the range of public opinion. Debate in its columns reflected, among other things, such concerns as the delay in asking Ms Bhutto's PPP [Pakistan People's Party] to form the government at the centre. There was not enough popular momentum to justify administrative hopes for the IJI [Islamic Jamhoori Ittehad]. Yet—such is the blind justice of freedom—it is the existence of that very bloc of the IJI as a strong Opposition that helps assure freedom of the Press.

Often, when we speak of a free Press we have in mind a freedom that encompasses the mass media. Each medium has its own distinctive possibilities. Despite the fact that this is a predominantly illiterate society, effectively serviced by TV, the Press retains a unique significance. This is because of its accessibility. Journalism has a wide spectrum. The Press has a variety of platforms,

which allow the projection of different views and help it to be representative. A man struggling against injustice or oppression finds his medium in the printed handbill or poster.

TV and Radio, if only because of their technology and international communication conventions, require certain official sanctions. The degree of investment and foreign assistance required for instituting a TV service made its development as part of the public sector more or less inevitable. PTV [Pakistan Television] is child of bondage—born to Ayub, fostered by Bhutto and pledged to Zia.

Critics of the PPP accuse it of keeping TV controls as tight as ever. What does freedom of the Press signify they ask, when the king of the mass media is not allowed free rule? Any telecast of opposition faces they say is merely cosmetic, and reporting on events minimal or slanted. This is unfair. There is no reason to suppose that TV is subjected to more pressures and constraints than the Press. A critical public should realise that if a newspaperman speaks his mind he is not doing anything unprecedented. If a TV anchorman were to try and deliberately embarrass a minister with a touch question, or show that there is more than a single valid stance, he would be revolutionising the TV idiom.

Among the media the Press has an inbuilt advantage of a tradition of dissent. It has served colonial masters but it has also served the freedom struggle. Pakistan's political tragedies have raised a brand of self-seeking journalist, as unscrupulous in their use of the Press as any ambitious politician or wily bureaucrat, but before them was a band of sound professionals animated by the finest values. TV journalism has to produce such mentors.

It is also said that the Press in Mr Junejo's day was free. Opposition statements were carried, and General Zia criticised freely. True enough. But important areas of policy remained off limits. Besides a mere reporting of statements from the Opposition does not suffice to make a free Press, any more than an opposition face makes a free TV. It is the placing of these statements in the context of public sentiment and reaction, a dialogue and debate between exponents of different points of view, rather than the monologue of each from his own fenced-off side that constitutes the ambience of freedom. Nor is it enough to be allowed to speak. One must also be heard. Even at its worst, a democratic government is responsive to public opinion in a way that a military regime or its puppets will never be. It is possible to "speak" to the government today in a manner that is quite new.

A free Press means more than licence. Sometimes anything can be said in the Press—but that does not satisfy public good sense. The common man knows that a Press which is up for sale, open to manipulation, serves selected ends, is a Press that is more inimical to the common interest than a rigorously curbed—and thence

negligible—one. Along with various governments, newspaper owners, obliging editors and self-serving journalists have all been guilty of depriving society of the services of a disinterested Press that acts as watch-dog and monitor.

As long as newspaper establishes its policy, the fact that this policy has a specific colouring does not matter. JASARAT and MUSAWAT were party papers, but every reader knew this. What is reprehensible is the chameleon-like character of some papers that switch line and policy abruptly in keeping with expedience. It is possible to pick up the same newspaper—board and staff unchanged—and find out different dates a shift from black to white in terms of policy and emphasis. When the political climate is uncertain, such papers too get uncertain. The need to make their own guesses in the absence of the excuse of government constraints is a challenge that their proprietors find taxing. [quotations as published]

Today's uncertainties require a series of infinitely variable readjustments on a scale of sliding values. A new calculation is required daily to determine the rate of interplay between self-advancement and, for instance, the treatment of the MQM [Muhajir Qaumi Movement] factor, the IJI factor, the orthodox backlash, the progressive thrust and the custom of service to the party in power. The daily shift of perspective makes these journals fail in terms of what they offer the citizen as responsible informed report.

The responsibilities of the Press are great indeed. The public wants an objective, neutral reporting. It yearns for facts. The reporter has to develop new habits. He now has an incentive for research and verification for there is no reason to pre-suppose that his findings will not find their way to the public he seeks to inform. Newspaper owners will have to change their outlook too. Staff must be given facilities required for the kind of work expected from a free Press. Management must be prepared to spend more on the roving reporter in search of his story. Proprietors must stop saying the representative in Islamabad can provide the facts: a good reporter needs to scent out his own trial. Journalism is more than a profession: it is a calling.

Journalists will have to turn away from the commercialism the past has fostered. It makes sense for a journalist to want better working conditions and wages. But to be looking for free rides, plots and small concessions, though only too human, is bad journalism. The government may have given up using the stick, but it can still hold forth the carrot. What is the potential of the Media Foundation one wonders? Government, funds, and the Press add up to the wrong total. Do funds go to the journalists the government finds "deserving"? What makes a journalist good in a Party's eyes? Can the projected Foundation become a repository for the soul of the perhaps-one-day-dissolved Press Trust?

If the Press wants to keep its liberty it must not let it go by default. Wise editorship has enabled one or two of the major newspapers to make the distinction between supporting democracy itself and a particular side. People speak of "self-censorship." A man tied too long, too tightly, does not start running the moment his bonds are released.

It takes time for circulation to return to normal and numbed sensibilities to recover. Restraint in the interests of not over-taxing a faltering beginning makes sense. But journalists must not let it become the excuse for moral cowardice and a reluctance to venture forth into uncharted waters that might prove troublous. To keep our freedom, we must use it.

### **Question of Provincial Autonomy Said To 'Haunt' Country**

46000159b Islamabad THE MUSLIM in English  
13 Jun 89 pp 4-5

[Article by D. Shah Khan: "Myth of Provincial Autonomy"]

[Text] Now that Punjab has joined the front ranks of those provinces which have for long been clamouring against the cavalier manner the centre treats them, it becomes all the more important that the "settled" issue of provincial autonomy be exhumed and thoroughly re-examined, before it is too late. The events of 1971, in spite of the frequent disclosures of "actual" facts to exculpate the then rulers of the country, where no more than a culmination of the developments over the years on the question of the rights of East Pakistan. It is of course not expected that anything quite as drastic will occur in these parts, but it would be good policy to learn from our past mistakes unless we want to be doomed to repeat them.

### **Constitution**

Thus the heart-rending tale of neglect and suffering of Punjab at the hands of Islamabad has revealed by the provincial Finance minister should be taken seriously, if not the earlier rhetoric of the IJI [Islamic Jamhoori Ittehad] leaders against the heavy-handed policies of the Federal government. That the minister did not make a case for provincial autonomy over and above the remedies within the limits of the Constitution—such as setting up of a National Finance Commission—should not blind us to the point that was being emphasised that the present mechanics of distribution of national resources was flawed. This is just a part, not the whole, of the case made by the smaller provinces for increased rights. If a super unit like Punjab, which is almost an alter ego for Pakistan, can be reduced to the proverbial rags, what must be the fate of the less-happily-placed provinces, the neglect for whom extends to political rights also.

The provincial autonomy question is almost as old as the troubled history of constitution-making of the country. The 1956 Constitution never really solved it, nor did it intend to. The forced amalgamation of West Pakistani provinces into the one-unit have temporarily silenced, not solved, the problem of autonomy. The 1962 Constitution which was authored by a strong-man who had an exaggerated faith in his ability to rule for many many years, collapsed in the face of other first major onslaught of populist forces. That this constitution and the political system it spawned were basically responsible for fanning the embers of discontent in East Pakistan should not be lost sight of.

The framing of the 1973 Constitution in the sombre and sad atmosphere of the post-1971 years, was apparently directed more by sentiment than robust commonsense. That its Articles dealing with provincial autonomy were never run through a workability test somehow created a myth of its perfection as a document of the political and economic rights of the smaller provinces. Mr Z. A. Bhutto ensured that the main exponents of the rights of the smaller units would soon cease to be a force in active politics by implicating them in cases. Leaders like Mr Abdul Wali Khan and Mr Ghaus Bakhsh Bizenjo who had a major role in piecing together the 1973 Constitution, particularly its provincial autonomy provisions, have never really been able to explain why they settled for something less than they had always demanded. They still gamely stand by their earlier clarification that in those traumatic days there was an all round need to strengthen the unity of the country.

The barren decade made a shambles of the whole concept of provincial autonomy as the units were ruled by proconsuls, which almost erased the political/administrative demarcations within the country. It was an indirect re-institution of the one-unit, which was now divided into four zones, with little to differentiate one from another, except the facade of cartographic provincial boundaries. It would have been bizarre to expect any of the military governors to come fuming and fretting to Islamabad, demanding the rights of his unit. Provincial autonomy is essentially a political demand which is alien to the bureaucratic concept of management. A secretary or a general sitting in the federal capital can never really comprehend the psyche of the leaders of the smaller provinces which compels them to make a fetish of the autonomy issue. Thus the Ziaul Haq period witnessed a virtual obfuscation of the issue, and the active opposition too did not raise it as it was more concerned with the biggest question of democracy. Consequently, even those few subjects which were still left to the provinces in the 1973-77 years by the PPP [Pakistan People's Party] government to retain the appearances of the "sacred" provincial autonomy, were taken away by the military government.

#### Civilian Rule

The three-year Junejo government which saw the growth of subliminal civilian rule, did no more than go through the show of upholding the rights of the provinces by

making mealy-mouthed statements. The fact that his party was also ruling the units made the task of maintaining the structure imposed by the martial law much easier. It did little to revive the kind of autonomy prescribed in 1973 other than putting up an elaborate show of being the "elected" government, with an emphasis on each syllable.

The present democratic set-up in the country, therefore, is the first true acid test of the quantum of a province's rights available under the 1973 Constitution or whatever is left of it. And that it had turned out to be almost impracticable was not unexpected, as an occasion was never allowed to emerge which would have helped in exposing the anomalies and infractions in it and in searching for a remedy accordingly. The Z. A. Bhutto dispensation ensured that the various Articles on provincial autonomy be left out of the purview of popular politics. The military regime had no need for it as provincial rights were also seen as a blueprint for secession. It was during those years that several hare-brained schemes like reviving the one-unit, eliminating linguistic and ethnic-oriented provinces and replacing them with units based on administrative divisions, and the blanket view of the Ansari Commission that the present provinces were a product of the colonial power's own compulsions, were heard.

In all these years, for some unexplained reasons, too much was taken for granted in that the rights of the provinces as enshrined in the Constitution were "perfect," and that given the first chance of their being put into use, the country would turn into a political and economic utopia. But at a different level, some leaders of the Movement for Restoration of Democracy (MRD) who had paralleled the demand for democracy with a demand for a re-assessment of 1973 Constitution's Articles on provincial rights, succeeded in getting the Movement's consensus on a formulation which favoured a four-subject centre (defence, foreign affairs, communication and currency), with the rest of the subjects going to the provinces. This is not a new scheme and had been frequently raised in the halcyon days of liberal politics when provincial autonomy was not considered a dirty term. Sheikh Mujibur Rahman's Six-Points were fabricated on such a base, and West Pakistan was fairly close to accepting all except for half-a-point.

The 1973 Constitution, which was the handiwork of some of the best political brains in country, put together an arrangement which allowed the centre much greater powers than those available in the 1956 Constitution. Even the subjects allocated to the provinces were cosmetic, with the centre much greater powers than those available in the 1956 Constitution. Even the subjects allocated to the provinces were cosmetic, with the centre exercising an option in most cases with corresponding authority. The only field in which the "rights" were carefully delineated was the functioning of the assemblies, but that too was subsequently tampered with. In fact, the best that can be said about the 1973 document

is that it was designed with such sophistication that it maintained the fiction of giving the provinces all the autonomy they wanted, without really doing so. Thus when Nawab Akbar Bugti, but not so much Mian Nawaz Sharif, started carefully putting the caveats on rights of the provinces into effect, it was discovered that the exercise involved an elaborate search through the maze of restrictions. The few loopholes left by the PPP during its first incarnation, had been closed by the military regime. It was therefore, not without reason that the Baluchistan Chief Minister had to make frequent rounds of Islamabad to seek intercession by the Centre. The National Economic Committee meeting was the last straw, and while the Punjab Chief Minister viewed it through the angle of the ongoing PPP-IJI confrontation, Nawab Bugti took a more practical look. Given the existing conditions, the structure of provincial rights allowed in the 1973 Constitution was absolutely unworkable. At the best it turned provincial Chief Ministers into mendicants seeking larger handouts from Islamabad, and at the worst, into minor secessionists asking for something that was not enshrined in the "sacred" charter.

Even the most charitable view of the constitutional provisions on the rights of the provinces suggests that it really amounts to nothing. The federating units become extensions of the centre, rather than the federal government's being a product of the consensus of the provinces. Whether this is in conformity with the 1940 Resolution is still to be explained, but it is certainly not a prescription for the kind of federation that is enunciated in the Constitution. Till a solution is found to this contentious issue, the question of provincial autonomy will continue to haunt Pakistani politics. Given the natural fears of the centre and the fact that the biggest unit has much to lose if the smaller units are given more control over their resources, it is difficult to imagine a solution that would satisfy all. The 1973 Constitution and the spirit of accommodation that made it possible, provided an answer; but that too was so badly mangled by the Z. A. Bhutto regime and its martial law replacement, that today it is an almost impossible task to bridge the ever-widening gap.

**Biharis Rally, Demand Repatriation to Pakistan**  
*BK0107112089 Hong Kong AFP in English*  
1052 GMT 1 Jul 89

[Text] Dhaka, July 1 (AFP)—Some 300 slogan-chanting Biharis left their refugee camps and staged a protest outside a government building here Saturday [1 July] to demand their immediate repatriation to Pakistan.

Men, women and children from several refugee camps in Dhaka briefly fought with armed riot police near the high-security Government Secretariat before their leader was permitted to meet Home Ministry officials.

The refugees, who had emigrated from India's Bihar State after independence from Britain in 1947, sided with Islamabad when Bangladesh, formerly East Pakistan, became independent in 1971.

They were accused by Bengalis of collaborating with the Pakistani Army to suppress the war of independence.

The estimated 250,000 Urdu-speaking Biharis have languished in 66 refugee camps throughout Bangladesh while they await settlement in Pakistan, but some ethnic groups in Pakistan have opposed their repatriation.

Muhammad Nasim Khan, chief patron of the stranded Pakistani General Repatriation Committee (SPGRC), presented a resolution of a recent Bihari community meeting to Home Ministry officials, police Inspector S. Amin said.

Mr. Amin said one person had been arrested for attempting to create trouble.

The protestors chanted slogans against Pakistani Prime Minister Benazir Bhutto and carried signs demanding immediate repatriation and a Pakistani visa for Mr. Khan, which according to the SPGRC was refused by the Pakistan Embassy here without citing any reason.

Mr. Khan said he wanted to go to Islamabad for peaceful purposes and "meaningful talks with the Pakistani Government."

The protestors also carried a Pakistani flag with a red border to depict their suffering.

In an interview Wednesday, Mr. Khan accused Mrs. Bhutto of delaying their repatriation.

He said a Jeddah-based Islamic Trust, the Rabitat-i-Alam al-Islama Trust, had adequate funds for their repatriation, but that Mrs. Bhutto was ignoring the issue.

Community leaders who continued their rotation hunger-strike which began Wednesday said that if their fasting campaign failed they would finally stage a "long march" to Pakistan through India.

The SPGRC, funded by working Biharis in Bangladesh and abroad, has carried out similar protests during the last 18 years but has made little headway.

Bangladesh Government officials said they had urged the Pakistani Government to take urgent steps for the repatriation of "their nationals," for whom they say Dhaka spends four million dollars annually.

In March, 463 Biharis were set to be repatriated to Pakistan but their departure was postponed at the last minute when people in Karachi demonstrated against their arrival.

## Commentaries Call for New Afghan Policy

### Government Urged To Back Elections in Afghanistan

46000158c Karachi DAWN in English 18 Jun 87 p 7

[Commentary by M. P. Bhandara: "New Consensus on Afghanistan"]

[Text] Consequent on the failure of the Afghan Mujahideen to occupy Jalalabad after the withdrawal of Soviet troops in Afghanistan, it is necessary to forge a new consensus in Pakistan on the Afghan imbroglio. The right forum for forging such a consensus is parliament. An opportunity is thereby presented to the ruling party and the combined opposition to temporarily bury the hatchet on what is a national concern.

At the outset it must be recognised that the failure of the Mujahideen to capture Jalalabad should not be viewed as a defeat for the freedom fighters. Guerilla fighters neither have the training nor the discipline to fight set piece battles against an organised army. Besides an invading force needs a much higher order of fire power than perimeter defenders. In the battle for Jalalabad the strength of the two sides is about equal (approximately 10,000 persons under arms on each side); besides the Mujahideen have no air cover. It is precisely for this reason that the conquest of Saigon was undertaken by the regular North Viet Namese army and not the Viet Cong.

A cherished premise of the planners of the Afghan war in Islamabad and Washington that the PDPA [People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan] government in Kabul would disintegrate on Soviet withdrawal has so far proved untrue. By some accounts the Kabul government is in better shape today than when the Soviets left in February this year.

The PDPA government in Kabul notwithstanding its unsavoury origins, its brutality and its rejection by the Afghan people has a perfect right under international law to accept military aid to defend itself. The right to rule is tainted if a foreign army is physically present to prop the de facto rulers. It is, however, a different story if the PDPA can stand on its own legs in Kabul and elsewhere. The Kabul government may belong to the list of perverse and odious governments spread geographically from Albania to Chile; its claim to be the lawful government of Afghanistan is now enhanced 120 days after the Soviet withdrawal. Six months from now its credentials may be impenetrable.

So long as Pakistan provided a sanctuary and arms transit to the Mujahideen to Afghanistan under occupation, we were on the side of the angels. Our last annual resolution at the United Nations secured the support of 125 countries. But in the quick silver of dramatic changes in the Soviet Union of late, a role reversal has almost taken place. We are no longer on the side of the

angels; the perception now abroad is that Pakistan is on the side of uncompromising obscurantists, who not only desire a conquest by arm over the hated PDPA but the moderates within their own ranks as well. It is feared by many that a Hikmatyar on top might be the obverse side of Hafizullah Amin's own coin.

In addressing the question of what our new policy objectives should be, let us try and understand our policy imperatives of the past. Between 1979 and 1985 a military government in Pakistan was in search of recognition and friends. The Soviet misadventure in Afghanistan commencing December 1979 conveniently lined up the West behind the then Pakistan Government. Soon thereafter Pakistan acquired the largest refugee population in the world. In Western eyes, Pakistan was a front line state fighting the battles of the West which was sold as the battle of Islam by the Zia-ul Haq government. The mutuality of the relationship was near perfect.

The provision of arms and the tolerance of armed camps on Pakistan soil clearly met the moral imperatives of helping a small neighbour resist a super power. In retrospect it can be seen that Pakistan successfully used the Soviet intervention in the Afghan civil war to further its own security concerns.

The only historical inevitability is its unpredictability.

The last two years have brought about a sea change in the inward and outward perceptions of the Soviet Union (thanks in part to the Afghan war itself). Whether these changes are of a permanent nature or transitory is not the point at issue. The Soviets have now seized the high moral and propaganda ground by two significant acts: One, by reaching an agreement with the West for the removal of intermediate range nuclear missiles, and secondly, by actually withdrawing its troops from Afghanistan under the Geneva Agreement. Gorbachev's diplomacy has completely upset many fixed notions relating to the USSR since 1917.

In the changed circumstances it is necessary to re-define the objectives of Pakistan in the Afghan imbroglio.

It is submitted that our present-day concern should focus on the return of the estimated 3.6 Million refugees on Pakistan soil. The voluntary return of refugees was a corollary to other objectives in the past. Now it should be our main concern.

The formation of a broad-based interim government which was the second track of the Cordovez mandate, has meant two completely different things of other respective sides. To the Mujahideen, it has meant a Kabul government minus the PDPA except for some 'good Muslims' of the PDPA to be certified by the Mujahideen; to the Kabul government it has meant a PDPA government commanding the heights of government with a few left over for the Mujahideen. Matters were complicated by offering a position to ex-King Zahir

Shah who was tactless enough to receive the Indian State Minister for Foreign Affairs when his return was under intense discussion in November '87 among the Mujahideen groups.

With the present gains of the Kabul government they might not be expected to be more compromising on the matter of an interim government as compared to last winter when their fortunes were at their lowest. In sum, there appears to be slim chance for the formation of any interim government.

In forming a new foreign policy initiative it must be assumed that Pakistan and the United States will continue their support to the Mujahideen. The discontinuation of our support might result in the Lebanonisation of our border regions. We run the risk of having the Mujahideen point their arsenal at us out of frustration. In formulating a new foreign policy objective we must take into consideration the risks attendant on alienating the more fundamentalist of the Mujahideen groups.

It has also to be recognised that some recent moves of the Kabul government have been successful. The Tehran based Mujahideen remain alienated from the Peshawar groups; a number of border tribes and in particular the Hazarjat have received incentives in the shape of guns and money to return. A slow but, steady return of refugees presently based in Iran and Pakistan has commenced. This of course has to be balanced against the fact that over 60,000 Afghans have entered Pakistan since last March when the siege of Jalalabad commenced.

In this every-changing mosaic of events, the political government of Pakistan is expected to evolve a new national consensus.

In evolving a new position, we should seek to re-occupy the high moral ground.

It is submitted that Pakistan is left with no alternative but to press for national elections in Afghanistan under the direct supervision of the United Nations. The onus for this is on the Super Powers. A super power agreement would mean much more than an international conference as proposed by the Soviets. However, an international conference involving the Super Powers, Pakistan, Iran, the interim government of Afghanistan, Tehran-based Mujahideen groups and the Kabul government, should remain a serious option for us. The minimum requirement for holding a national election is a ceasefire which albeit is to the disadvantage of the Mujahideen. The Soviet pro quid would be to force General Najib to step down in favour of a neutral administrator at least for the duration of the ceasefire and the general election.

Too many bullets have been fired in Afghanistan in the past 11 years; the Afghan nation should now be given a chance to express its will through the ballot. The alternative to a national solution of the Afghan imbroglio may well be one the permanent division of Afghanistan.

#### **Editorial Calls for Political Solution**

*46000158c Karachi DAWN in English 15 Jun 89 p 7*

[Editorial: "Giving Political Settlement a Chance"]

[Text] Four months after the Soviet withdrawal from Afghanistan, the stage appears to have arrived for a new diplomatic initiative in that war-torn country. With the siege of Jalalabad having ended in a prolonged stalemate, it does not make much military sense to allow the civil war to drag on endlessly. The Mujahideen have, after all, achieved their primary goal, namely, the liberation of their country from foreign occupation. The Afghans owe their victory to the valour of their freedom fighters, their fierce sense of patriotism and independence and the support they received from their foreign allies. But it is now evident that a guerilla struggle will not take the Afghan Mujahideen very far in the civil strife which has virtually engulfed the country. They will have to either convert themselves into a conventional military force possessing air cover and fight set-piece battles to win control over urban centres or enter the government superstructure in the country through a political struggle. The first option is not easily available in view of the Mujahideen's lack of expertise, trained manpower, equipment and resources. A more plausible and practical option for the Afghans of all persuasions is to work for a political settlement to protect the gains they have won after nine years of heroic struggle and sacrifice. The continuation of the civil strife in the country would only perpetuate the blood-shed and destruction that has ravaged Afghanistan since 1979. Moreover, there is the risk that the Mujahideen groups, who had managed to forge a degree of unity in the face of the Soviet presence, might fall apart now that the visible fact of foreign occupation is no longer there to sustain that unity. Any fragmentation would play havoc with the fabric of social and economic life in Afghanistan. Hence the urgency of a political approach.

Any settlement now negotiated must be based on two fundamental precepts. First, it must provide for a neutral government in Kabul which does not lean to the East or to the West. Secondly, in keeping with the principle of self-determination the Afghans must be given an opportunity to decide the composition and character of their government. Clearly no arrangement would be acceptable to Pakistan or to the Mujahideen if it centres round the Najibullah government. That regime is widely seen as a by-product of foreign intervention, lacking a representative status as well as independent and non-aligned credentials to give it credibility in a highly polarised society. It is, therefore, essential that a new political arrangement is worked out in Kabul in keeping with

basic democratic principles. Whether the process provides for elections or the convening of the traditional Afghan jirga, it must elicit the acceptance of all major sections of the Afghan population. In this context, the Pakistan Government's move to reactivate the United Nations role in Afghanistan is a promising initiative. Given the opportunity, the world body should be in a position to defuse the military confrontation in the country and promote conciliation among various Afghan factions. The UN already has a presence in the region, though it may be of a token nature; this can be expanded to provide the machinery for a truce and political conciliation. Precisely how this can be worked out will have to be seen, but it is certainly a positive sign that the Pakistan Government is now working in that direction. It is only when a peace process has been fully initiated that the reconstruction of war-devastated Afghanistan can be taken in hand. This should, hopefully, also see the beginning of the homeward journey of the Afghan refugees in Pakistan and Iran.

#### **Better Relations With Soviets Urged**

46000158c Karachi DAWN in English 6 Jun 89 p 7

[Article by A. M. Sadullah: "Time for a New Afghan Policy"]

[Text] The entry of the Soviet troops into Afghanistan set in motion waves of convulsions in USA and Pakistan. Both queried what next in the Brezhnev expansionist era. The USA saw its vital strategic interests in the Gulf and South East and South Asia threatened by the Soviet presence in Afghanistan. Pakistan saw its western borders threatened by the advancing tide of the communist deluge. It found itself faced with the grim prospect of being crushed by the monstrous devil from the East and the approaching deluge of the deep sea from the west.

Fortunately the fears were untrue and exaggerated. Whatever fears still lurked from the west were ut to rest by the brave guerilla fighters (Mujahideen) adequately equipped in modern sophisticated arms by the USA and properly encouraged and patronised by Pakistan. The Soviet fighters after waging an inconclusive war for nine years remained bogged down in the inhospitable terrain and climate of the country invaded and ultimately decided to withdraw from Afghanistan.

The attempt to discover a common ground is due primarily to Mr Gorbachev's "new thinking". Whatever effect it might have had on the U.S. global strategic policy elsewhere, it had very little impact on its Afghan policy.

The fact that the Soviet Union no longer sees itself an irresistible ideological wave destined to dominate the world by [word indistinct]-determined process of history is hardly acceptable to the American hard-liners. They still consider it as the leader of an embattled group of Socialist States which currently is struggling to save itself

from being crushed by the rising tide of Western capitalism in order eventually to overwhelm it by a pre-ordained revolution in the fulfillment of its ideological goal. And this is despite Mr Gorbachev's admission of the mistaken policy pursued by the Soviet Union in the past. His insistence that the present Soviet policy generally is no different from that of any other powers because the problems faced by it are no different from those faced by any other big power most of which, indeed, are common to mankind of diverse ideological perceptions, hardly gets any meaningful response from the American Government.

Herein lies the crux of the Afghan problem which belies all efforts at finding a peaceful solution at the political level. The USA, still thinking to safeguard its strategic interests in the area, can think of no other means but those of continued fighting by the Mujahideen through generous supply of sophisticated military wares and the help of their erstwhile ally, Pakistan. But in view of the recent trend in fighting and happenings on other fronts, how far is the U.S.-cum-Pakistan goal in Afghanistan still attainable? And, importantly, even if it were so, it is in our interest to toe an ill-conceived American line and incur the hostility of the Soviet Union, a superpower neighbouring country and also drastically reverse even the feeble process of normalisation with our great Neighbour in the East whose awesome and increasing military might may have been geared up for such a moment bringing misery to the entire region?

Our policy in Afghanistan was based on late President Zia's dream of establishing an Islamic fundamentalist arc on our North-west at the same time building a dam against any hostile incursion from across our western border. Gen Zia cleverly sketched his policy in a way to suit the totality of the American design and in the process succeeded in extracting a fair amount of economic and military aid from the USA on a long-term basis. This along with the desire, perhaps, to continue toeing the American line is the main reason not to deviate from the Zia policy.

It is no secret that the Geneva accord was not to the liking of late President Zia who believed in a military solution in favour of the Mujahideen with the material and economic support of USA. In keeping with his general policy of peaceful resolution of all conflicts, Mr Gorbachev has always insisted in favour of a peaceful resolution of the Afghan problem. After the change of Government in USA, the Bush Administration's Afghan policy, under the influence of hardliners assumed even a more hostile attitude towards Kabul and pledged allout help in military hardware to the Mujahideen in the hope of total overthrow of the PDP [Pakistan Democratic Party] regime in Kabul, after the withdrawal of Soviet troops. Pakistan's attitude was not less adamant in its unrelenting pursuit of the Zia policy. Mr Gorbachev took serious exception to this which seemed to increase greatly the tempo of the Mujahideen attack after the Soviet withdrawal.

Accusing Pakistan of violation of the Geneva agreement, he sounded a note of warning that "there can be and there will be no military solution to the Afghanistan problem". The Washington administration now dominated by hardliners is totally committed to aiding the Mujahideen military till their final victory. In this the U.S. seem to have the support of Pakistan, their principal ally.

The stalemate in Jalalabad after three months of severe fighting has changed the entire complexion of the war and is very likely to lead to a thorough re-assessment of U.S. policy on the Afghan issue. Mujahideen, it is reported have been firing more than 15,000 shells and rockets everyday into Jalalabad in an effort to take the fortress city manned by about six to seven thousand, a quarter of the attacking rebels. Their effort to lay a siege of the city has been thoroughly nullified by effective bombing of Kabul forces resulting in heavy casualties to the Mujahideen. The result of the Jalalabad war has come as a rude shock to the USA and has thoroughly exposed the limitation of the Mujahideen as fighters in a conventional war which is so different from guerilla warfare.

There seems to have been a serious rethinking at higher levels guiding the Mujahideen in respect of a changed strategy in future battles. Jalalabad has struck such a severe blow to the morale of the Mujahideen fighters (simultaneously lifting the morale of the Kabul forces) that the desire to open a second front at Kandhar has been stalled on a few occasions owing to the reluctance of the Mujahideen following the thrashing at Jalalabad.

In the meantime, Najibullah, an old campaigner in the strategy of Afghan warfare is busy laying adequate emphasis on propaganda, conciliation and bribery. In order to wean the Mujahideen field commanders and make them change sides, he has offered a dozen of them full autonomy in their regions if they stopped fighting the Government. He has even offered the post of Defence Minister to Ismael Khan, the main Mujahideen Provincial Commander.

Jalalabad has rocked all those who had hoped that after the departure of Soviet troops, the Mujahideen will make mince-meat of the Kabul troops and the collapse of the PDPA [People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan] regime will be a question of time. When the relatively small fortress of Jalalabad could successfully defy a four-fold large force of the Mujahideen, the question of the fall of Kabul a much more heavily defended city of two million with 85,000 men under arms, an air force comprising 25,000 men, a militia of 50,000, not to speak of party loyalists, 30,000 of whom are properly armed to give a last-ditch resistance, seems beyond credibility. And this is especially so when the war-weary Mujahideen under a frustration cloud of the Jalalabad experience have lost some of their zeal to fight, especially the type of warfare for which they are neither trained nor suited by

temperament. All these facts have led to a new dimension in the Afghan fighting with the future of Afghanistan as dark and dismal and uncertain as ever before. And Najibullah with a taste of victory fresh in his mouth knows how to exploit the situation and deal with the no longer invincible Mujahideen.

Many analysts (even including those who predicted an early fall of Kabul) now think that the Mujahideen, already torn among themselves by divisive forces, will be further sub-divided into separate independent warring groups most of whom may find it more profitable to come to terms with Najibullah via the negotiating table.

If democracy in Pakistan is to succeed, it is necessary that, among other things, there should be a reappraisal of Pakistan's Afghan policy. One is happy to note that there are pleasant indications of this, judged by Prime Minister Benazir Bhutto's recent utterances on the issue. Always a believer in the political settlement of the issue, she has recently emphasised this fact even though, and quite rightly so, she has added, "we believe the Afghan matters to the Afghans".

In an interview with the CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR she admitted boldly and frankly that "something is not right at the moment" with Pakistan's Afghan policy. The country looks to her to put it on the right track. We have suffered enough for almost a decade due to the misguided Afghan policy of the past, in terms of our human, economic and material resources. And this is not to speak of the unimaginable damage suffered on various domestic fronts due to the Kalashnikov and heroin menace for which the responsibility would be laid fairly and squarely on the Afghan policy of the past.

And on the foreign front without in the least bit succeeding to solve the Afghan imbroglio the huge refugee problem, consuming our impoverished resources, we have almost succeeded in totally alienating our two great neighbours in the west and east.

We must learn to march with the times and assess properly the changed situation. True friendship with a new Russia under Mr Gorbachev, no longer a blind slave of the Marxian dialectics, could be a source of great strength to us and may even help solve some of our problems with India [word as published].

## SRI LANKA

### Government Postpones Referendum in Eastern Province

BK0407163789 Delhi TV in English  
1600 GMT 4 Jul 89

[Text] The Sri Lankan Government has postponed the holding of a referendum in the island's Eastern Province. The referendum was scheduled to be held tomorrow. The new date will be the 29th of January next year. A gazette notification was issued to this effect by the Sri Lankan



Government today. The Eastern Province was merged with north Sri Lanka under the provisions of the India-Sri Lankan agreement. There was a proposal to hold a referendum in the east on the merger.

The Sri Lankan president, Mr Premadasa, has said that any understanding between his government and the LTTE [Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam] would be within the framework of the unitary character of the Sri Lankan Constitution. In a nationally televised speech tonight, Mr Premadasa said Sri Lanka has the sovereign right to deal with its own problems. He said no country could dictate to Sri Lanka the methods of solving its problems.

PTI [PRESS TRUST OF INDIA] quoting informed sources in Sri Lanka reports that some members in Mr Premadasa's government have urged the president to undertake diplomatic efforts to break the impasse on the IPKF [Indian Peacekeeping Force] withdrawal issue. They have warned that if relations with India break down, no other country would come to Sri Lanka's help.

#### **New Government Broadcasts Aim To Inform Indian Listeners**

BK1107063489 Delhi THE HINDUSTAN TIMES  
in English 2 Jul 89 p 1 ?

[By M.K. Tikku]

[Excerpt] Colombo, July 1—Practically unannounced, Sri Lanka has started a special 6-hour broadcast beamed daily to the north and south India with a view to "inform" the Indian public of its position on the IPKE [Indian Peacekeeping Force] and related issues.

The Trans World Radio (TWR), a US-based missionary broadcast organisation, which operates a high-powered medium wave transmitter in Sri Lanka to broadcast religious programmes to south and southeast Asia, has allowed the Sri Lankan Government to use its massive 400 KW [Kilowatt] transmitter at Puttalam on the west coast for 2 hours of Tamil broadcasts every evening.

The Sri Lankan Government is using its existing four short wave transmitters at Ekala, north of Colombo, for 4 hours of the new Hindi broadcasts. The two of the transmitters are of 10 and 100 KW capacities while the other two are of 35 KW capacity each. As these transmitters are felt to be inadequate for effective coverage of all parts of northern India, moves are afoot for setting up a new powerful short wave transmitter at Ekala.

A Voice of America [VOA] team, who were here recently are understood to have discussed the feasibility of the new short wave transmitting station with their Sri Lankan counterparts.

Work on the Voice of America's own proposed relaying facility with a 500 KW medium wave transmitter at Puttalam has not moved much in the last 2 years

apparently in view of the Indian sensitivities on this issue. But in view of the current strains in Indo-Sri Lanka relations, it is conceivable for the VOA to look for a fresh entry point.

Though Sri Lankan radio runs a modest Asian service in its overseas broadcasts, a special feature of the new programmes is their emphasis on the current affairs in the context of the present state of Indo-Sri Lanka relations. It has introduced hourly news bulletins in both Tamil and Hindi highlighting such aspects as the IPKF "atrocities", negative reactions of the Tamils to the Indian troops here, the critical comments by commentators in the Indian Press, and an articulation of the LTTE [Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam] views who have emerged as new allies of the Sri Lankan Government. [passage omitted]

#### **LTTE Renounces Violence, Refuses To Lay Down Arms**

BK0507080089 Hong Kong AFP in English  
0755 GMT 4 Jul 89

[Text] New Delhi, July 5 (AFP)—Sri Lanka's most powerful Tamil rebel group has renounced violence but will not lay down weapons, an Indian newspaper Wednesday [5 July] quoted one of its leaders as saying.

"We refuse to surrender our arms because it is our bargaining power," THE STATESMAN reported Anton S. Balasingham of the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE) as saying in an interview in Colombo.

"Once you lose that, you have nothing left to bargain with," he added.

But Mr. Balasingham, the LTTE's political head who is holding peace talks with the Sri Lankan Government, said his group had given up violence and was willing to enter the democratic mainstream.

"We have renounced violence," THE STATESMAN quoted him as telling the English-language daily. "We have come to some settlement with the Sri Lankan Government. We are prepared to enter the democratic process."

The LTTE, which last month announced a cessation of hostilities against Colombo, has since October 1987 been fighting Indian troops deployed across Sri Lanka's Tamil-populated north-east under a 1987 bilateral peace pact.

The accord, which sought to end Tamil separatism and devolve limited autonomy to the island's minority Tamil community, was repudiated by the LTTE after a token arms surrender in August 1987.

India has said the LTTE's decision to end hostilities with Colombo would be meaningless if it was not accompanied by a surrender of weapons.

Mr. Balasingham, speaking at his hotel suite, also asked India to draw a time frame for withdrawing its estimated 45,000 troops from Sri Lanka "without losing face".

New Delhi has rejected Sri Lankan President Ranasinghe Premadasa's demands for the troops' withdrawal by July 29, saying they would return home only after Colombo devolves adequate autonomy to the Tamils.

More than 900 Indian soldiers and 2,000 suspected LTTE rebels have died in bitter fighting since October 1987.

Schools have remained shut across Sri Lanka's north-east for the last 10 days following mass kidnapping of students by rival Tamil militant groups for military training, the PRESS TRUST OF INDIA (PTI) reported.

The news agency said parents of the missing boys and girls, reportedly running into hundreds, had approached Indian military commanders, seeking help to trace their children.

"IPKF (Indian Peace Keeping Force) sources told a PTI correspondent who visited the province last week that they were receiving at least eight to 10 such complaints at each (IPKF) office every day," it said.

PTI quoted some of the parents as saying that the students were being prepared by Tamil militant groups "to combat the Sri Lankan army in case the IPKF left" the island.

PTI quoted sources in three pro-India Tamil militant groups as denying charges that they were kidnapping students. But "they admitted that they were taking for training children who came willingly," the report added.

Barring the LTTE, all other Sri Lankan political parties and groups have opposed the call for the IPKF's withdrawal, fearing that an Indian pullout would lead to fierce internecine fighting in the north-east.

**LTTE Says Cessation of Hostilities 'Historic'**  
*BK0307114589 Colombo International in English*  
1045 GMT 3 Jul 89

[Text] At the talks yesterday between the government and the LTTE [Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam], the LTTE delegation said that in certain quarters, efforts are being made to devalue the cessation of hostilities [accord] that has been reached between the LTTE and the Government of Sri Lanka. They added that the cessation of hostilities reached between the LTTE and the government is a historic achievement. The credit for this step goes to the president whose sincere and earnest desire to establish peace and ethnic harmony has brought about an end to this long-standing conflict.

They further said that the procedure for the possession and dispossession of arms can be resolved between the LTTE and the Government of Sri Lanka. In this respect, they also drew the attention of the ministerial delegation to the massive militarization process which is taking place now in the north and the east. They emphasized that a powerful military machine is being built up in the name of the CVF [Citizens Volunteers Force]. They stressed that the cessation of hostilities extends to all the people of the northern and eastern provinces and also to all the people in the rest of the country.

They said that they have fought for the people of the north and the east to ensure a life of dignity and security. Therefore, in the disarming process, the government should ensure that the armed groups which are now posing a grave threat to peace and security in the east and the north not only come within the security arrangement of the government but also give up their aggressive policies toward the LTTE. They affirmed that the LTTE is committed to a negotiated political settlement in the resolution of the problem facing the north and the east.

The ministerial delegation said that the LTTE and the government were also able to arrive at a decision to end all hostilities because of their joint commitment to resolve all outstanding problems through consultation, compromise, and consensus.

**Paper Hails LTTE's Cessation of Hostilities**  
*BK0507133389 Colombo DAILY NEWS in English*  
30 Jun 89 p 4

[Editorial: "LTTE's Cessation of Hostilities"]

[Text] The LTTE's [Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam] decision to declare a cessation of hostilities with the Government of Sri Lanka must mark, hopefully, the end of a turbulent chapter in the history of this country.

The LTTE, perhaps the strongest and most militant of the Tamil groups, earlier agreed to a cease-fire in response to President Premadasa's call for negotiations with any, and every, group that had taken to arms. The LTTE decision signifies the maturing of a truce into a more lasting peace.

Throughout this country, and in India, it will be regarded as a major success of the Sri Lankan President's policy of settlement through discussion. It will, also, be seen as a personal triumph for President Premadasa, insofar as it registers strong faith by the militants in his pledge to be fair by every community.

The Government of India must now acknowledge the LTTE claim that negotiations between the Government of Sri Lanka and the LTTE have more than the IPKF [Indian Peacekeeping Force] has been able to accomplish in two years.

The latest development is proof enough that Sri Lanka, left to itself, can now restore peace in the north and in the east much sooner by her own efforts than through the brooding presence of an alien army.

The IPKF came here to disarm the militant groups which were then engaged in open combat with the Government of Sri Lanka. The cessation of hostilities, therefore, removes every argument for the continued presence of Indian troops. If they continued to stay on, they would be overstaying their welcome. Any attempt to prolong the duration of their encampment would give a reason for Sri Lanka to be fearful of her friends.

India ought not to give the impression of treating her weaker neighbours as client-states.

Sri Lanka played a major role in extricating India, in the 60s, from a difficult situation in her war with China. Surely, Sri Lanka deserves better at Indian hands, today? History offers the lesson, over and over again, that military power is not the sole guide to international conduct. In a world held together by a balance of terror,

not even India's newly-acquired missile power should lure her into military adventurism. For, events in Sri Lanka could have a chain reaction. Such is the lesson of 20th century experience.

Plainly enough, the understanding and peace now reached by the Sri Lanka government with the LTTE could well pave the way to peace with other warring factions in the south. The latter, too, are vehement in their opposition to an Indian presence on Sri Lankan soil. The IPKF's withdrawal, then, would open the door to peace in this land. That situation is clear enough.

Surely, the Indian authorities can feel the pulse of the people here? Our people want Indian troops to quit because the Indian presence here is seen as an infraction of our sovereignty, of our territorial integrity. The IPKF came here as a peace mission. That very ideal can, today, be best served by its withdrawal from our shores.

If the Indian Peace-Keeping Force came to preserve peace in this island, it must not give the impression, now, of frustrating it.